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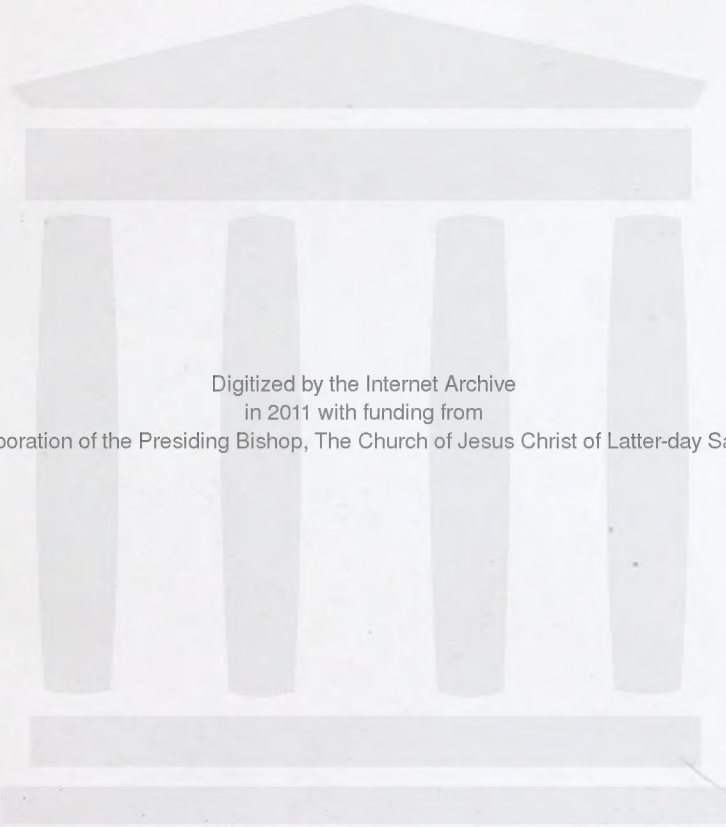
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JULY, 1912

AMERICANA

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CHARLES B. PIXLEY
Grandson of Col. David Pixley

AMERICANA

July, 1912

Incidents in the Life of a Revolutionary Officer

BY J. C. PUMPELTY

Historian Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution

ONE of the principal objects of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, of which I have the honor to have been one of the founders, is "to perpetuate the memory of the men who, by their services or sacrifices during the war of the American Revolution, achieved the independence of the American people." Of these men our society has already indexed the records of several thousand, and have placed upon the graves of very many enduring marks and tablets.

Among all those graves which have been thus identified, none deserves more honorable remembrance than that of my great grandfather, Colonel David Pixley. In the old Presbyterian burying ground at Owego, N. Y., on the headstone of his grave we read these few significant lines:

"In memory of Colonel David Pixley, who departed this life Aug. 25, 1807, in the 67th year of his age. He was an officer in the Revolution and was at the siege of Quebec under General Montgomery. He was the first settler at Owego in 1790, and continued its father and friend until his death."

David Pixley, son of David Pixley, of Westfield, Mass., was born in Stockbridge, Mass., March 27, 1741. He was a soldier in the expedition against Cape Breton in 1745, and at the "Alarm Call" in 1775 he enlisted as first lieutenant in Capt. Wm. Goodrich's company, Col. Patterson's regiment.

This name is spelt with two t's in the original Pixley commission, signed by "Joseph Warren, President P. T.," May 19, 1775, but this is, probably, a clerical error, because I have an original paper recommending a person for the office of sheriff dated at the town of Union, Tioga county, N. Y., Feb. 8, 1799, signed by both John Patterson and David Pixley, in which the name, as it is on the monument in Lenox, Mass., is spelt with but one t. Previous to his enlisting David Pixley married for his first wife Lois Whittlesey, December 8, 1763, in Stockbridge, Mass. He seems to have been from the first, both as soldier and pioneer, always a friend to and a power among the Indians, for there were thirty of them in his company when under Colonel Paterson, the regiment, perfectly equipped, marched from Lenox down to Bunker Hill, held the fortifications at Somerville, protecting the rear of the American forces, and shared the hardships and adventures of the siege of Boston. Just here it is interesting to note (see Life of General Paterson by his descendant, Prof. Egleston) that "on the same day eight years after, or April 18, 1783, an official end was put to the war by the announcement that the treaty of peace with England had been signed."

Paterson and his regiment were engaged in some of the operations near New York. In the Service Rolls of the army under Washington in New York in the Revolution on page 61, is the name of Lieutenant David Pixley in the corps of "Green Mountain Boys," and the officers were Ethan Allen and Seth Warner. About this time Lieut. Pixley was raised to the rank of colonel.

The larger part of Colonel Paterson's corps were killed in the ill-starred expedition to Canada under Montgomery and Arnold. He was made a Brigadier-General in February, 1777. He took part with the remnant of his command in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth. On the splendid monument on Monmouth battle plain is depicted in bronze the memorable council of war at Hopewell, called by Washington on the night before the battle, and in that famous group appears the figure of General Paterson, seated, and closely watching the Marquis of Lafayette as he stands replying so eloquently to the pessimistic

prognostications of the traitor, Charles Lee, who, with scowling and defiant face, is seated over on the left, while General Washington stands alert and masterful in the centre.

The writer, when president of the New Jersey society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and speaking at a meeting commemorating this battle at Monmouth, mentioned with pride the fact that this same Paterson was his ancestor's comrade in arms all through the war and that afterward the two veterans came to live near his own birthplace and died there.

Gen. Paterson acted as a member of the court martial that tried and condemned Major Andre, and when in command at West Point and on Dec. 8, 1783, his brigade was mustered out, I doubt not Pixley was with him. In 1803 this worthy general was a member of congress and living in Lisle, N. Y., where he died July 19, 1808.

About 1774, David Pixley married for his second wife Lydia Patterson, of Waterbury, Mass., my great grandmother, and her name appears on the membership roll of the Congressional church in Stockbridge in 1782.

When in that picturesque old town, I learned much of this noble lady's unostentatious piety and generous hospitality, especially to all those who were laboring for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. Her daughter Mary, who afterwards married my grandfather, was born in Stockbridge, May 11, 1777.

Colonel Pixley was one of the sixty original proprietors of the "Boston Purchase" or "Ten Townships," and first came into the Susquehanna region as one of the commissioners appointed by the Boston Company to treat with the Indians and obtain title to 230,400 acres of land between the Owego creek and the Chenango river, for which the company had paid the state 1,500 pounds.

In the winter of 1787-88 the commissioners met the Indians two miles above Binghamton (See Wilkinson's "Annals of Binghamton.")

By deed from Archibald Campbell, of Albany, dated Dec. 22, 1790, Colonel Pixley obtained title to 3,000 acres of land in what was then known as "Campbell's Location," in the town of Tioga, bounded east by the Owego creek and south by the Susque-

hanna river, "consideration five shillings and other good causes and consideration." (The price was about 50 cents an acre).

"Col. Pixley removed from Stockbridge and settled at Owego, Feb. 6, 1781, where he purchased property. His family consisted of his wife and three children, David, Amos and Mary. In May, 1791, he sold to Abner Turner, who came here that year, $49\frac{3}{4}$ acres on the west bank of the Owego creek where it meets the Catatonk creek. March 17, 1802, he sold 451 acres on the Owego creek, including his own homestead, to Capt. Eliakim, Noah and Asa Goodrich for \$5,000. He then removed to Owego and lived in an old farm house on the south side of Main street, west of and adjoining the Owego academy grounds, and there he died in 1807.

"When Col. Pixley settled on the west side of the Owego creek that town was known as Owego, and the east side of the creek was known as Tioga. The confusion arising from having the village of Owego in the town of Tioga on the east side of the creek was so annoying that in 1813 the names of the towns of Owego and Tioga were exchanged, the one for the other, as they now exist.

"Col. Pixley was county treasurer of Tioga county from 1798 to 1803, the only civil office he ever held there.

The Indians were in possession when David Pixley founded that little settlement on the Susquehanna, and it was not long before he became an influence among them and the favored adviser of their loved ruler Queen Catherine. March 28, 1797, Gov John Jay appointed Col. Pixley, Commandant of Militia. His old Colonel, John Paterson, came also to live in Tioga County, and there they both died. The writer has in his possession a recommendation for the office of Sheriff "To the Honorable Council of Appointment of the State of New York," duly signed by John Paterson, David Pixley, and five others, all "Members of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace and for the said County of Tioga."

About 1793 Mary Pixley married her first husband, Dr. Samuel Tinkham, the first college graduate in colony or state and the first physician to settle in that vicinity. There were few clergymen and no magistrates in the settlement then, so Mary and the

THE CONGRESS OF THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

To
David Purley Gentleman — GREETING.

WE, repoling especial Trust and Confidence in your Courage and good Conduct,
Do, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you the said *David Purley*
to be ~~Lieutenant of the~~ *First Company in the*
Regiment of Foot ~~under John Galloway~~ *led by the Congress*
aforesaid, for the Defence of said Colony.

You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a *Lieutenant*
in leading, ordering, and exercising the said ~~Company~~ *in Arms*, both inferior Officers
and Soldiers, and to keep them in good Order and Discipline; and they are hereby
commanded to obey you as their *Lieutenants*; and you are yourself to observe and
follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall, from Time to Time, receive from the
General and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised in the Colony aforesaid, for the
Defence of the same, or any other your Superior Officers, according to military Rules and
Discipline in War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you.

By Order of the Congress;

Samuel Danforth 19th of May A.D. 1775. *John Adams* President P. T.

Secretary P. T.

doctor rode on horseback down to what is now Athens, where, still seated on their horses, they were married by a justice of the peace, who stood at the door of his house. The doctor died in 1804 and six months after his widow married my father's father, James Pumpelly, who was born in Salisbury, Conn., Dec. 2, 1775.

Feb. 2, 1808, one year after the death of Colonel Pixley, Lydia, his widow, also died, aged 63, and was buried beside her husband. Upon the tombstone of this worthy christian woman were inscribed these lines:

“A pattern she through every scene of life,
A pious Christian and a faithful wife,
A neighbor kind, a sweet and pleasant friend,
T'was thus she lived, and peaceful was her end.”

In a copy I have of the sermon that was preached by Rev. Seth Williston at Mrs. Pixley's funeral I find the most unequivocal evidence of the truth of the above lines.

“She had,” the minister says, “such a sense of the spirituality and perfection of the law that she saw infinite demerit in herself where others who have not such strict notions would have thought there had hardly been a fault.”

David Pixley, Jr., was born at Stockbridge in 1764 and was the only son of Col. David Pixley by his first wife. He married Drusilla Bond. He was only 35 years old when he died in the town of Tioga, June 6, 1799. His body was the first one buried where the Tioga cemetery now is, which was then in the woods. His wife died June 1, 1822, aged 57 years, and her body is also buried there.

Extract from “An Historical Sketch of the Congregational Church, Stockbridge, 1888, Stockbridge, Berkshire County, Mass.” (Page 33).

1789. Jonathan Edwards, Minister.

David Pixley, married, Dec. 8, 1762,

Lois Whittlesey, in Stockbridge, 1st wife;

2nd, about 1774, married Lydia Patterson in Stockbridge.



Graves of David and Lydia Pixley in Presbyterian Burying Ground, Owego,
Tioga, Co., N. Y.



The Pixley House

(Page 64).

1782 Lydia Patterson Pixley.

1766 Abigail King Bliss Pixley

1772 Olive Pixley

1817 Phinias Pixley

1821 Alice Gifford Pixley

1764 Anna Pixley Whittlesay (Page 68)

“David Pixley, Jr., was a surveyor. He was one of the most influential of the proprietors of the ‘Boston Ten Townships.’ His children were Charles B., Jeremiah, Mary Ann, David and Jonathan. He lived on the west side of the Owego creek, a little less than half a mile below Leach’s mill.” Well I knew “Uncle Stephen” the owner of this well known grist mill, and so also did Miss Wilmot who some years since wrote a short poem from which I quote these lines:

“The splashing of thy moss grown wheel
Was music by a master’s hand,
A hymn whose sweetness He alone
Could feel and understand
Each time worn timber in thy frame,
Each window’s gloomy light—
Each cob webbed rafter dust strewn floor
Was valued in his sight—
But now ’tis still the crumbling mill
And its master sleeps upon the hill.

His work is done! the end has come
The pain and suffering have ceased
The genial voice is silent hushed
The shell outgrown the soul released
Has flown, to Him who gave it birth.
In after years his memory blest
Who kindly dealt with all mankind—
God give him peace. God give him rest
The same to thee old mill
As to thy master on the hill.”

“Amos Pixley died previous to the death of his father in 1807, leaving a wife and one son, Walter, who died unmarried.

“One of the sons of David Pixley, Jr., Col. Charles B. Pixley, was born in 1792, the year after the removal of his father to this country. He was at one time a hatter and kept a store in Lake street where he sold musical instruments, stationery, etc. He lived in Binghamton several years, where he married a sister of John A. Collier. He died Aug. 18, 1865, at the home of his sister, Mrs. Alanson Goodrich, in town of Tioga.

“Mary Ann Pixley, born in 1796, married Alanson Goodrich, son of Capt. Eliakim Goodrich, and died April 22, 1875.

“Jeremiah Jonathan, and David Pixley all removed to Oakland county, Mich. David Pixley’s wife was Fidelia Jones, daughter of deacon Solomon Jones.

“At the time of Col. David Pixley’s death he was the owner of nearly 9,400 acres of land all of which except 130 acres were situated outside the village of Owego.”

In concluding this all too insufficient sketch I think in the lives of these two worthy pioneers of my native town, we have clearly shown to you the value of a vision and the determination to be, not a biratus, but a real pathfinder on the great field of our life’s battle. What Gov. Woodrow Wilson calls “a lifter,” and such was my ancestor when he left his home to fight seven long years for a nation’s liberty, and after that to found a new home in a yet untrodden wilderness.

’Twas such men who left us the heritage we now enjoy and in our gratitude we cannot but recall with pride these words from the Scriptures:

“Inquire I pray thee of the former age and prepare thyself to the *search of the fathers*. Shall they not *teach thee* and utter words out of their heart?”

Audubon in West Feliciana

BY SARAH TURNBULL STIRLING

IN ye ancient days of 1826—which are nearly a century past—and when West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, was at its loveliest with mystery of forest and fern laden ravine, the silver of creek bottom and the beautiful “red clay cuts,” a wanderer came home, and as the hospitable doors in West Feliciana were always open and the hearth fires bright, he was made welcome and dwelt amongst them; and their children’s children tell of the “Angel unawares.”

John James Audubon was born at Mandeville on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain, May 4th, 1780; his hundred and forty third birthday being now at hand.

From Mrs. Audubon’s “Memoirs of her Husband,” kindly loaned me from the “Cottage” library, I found that John was the son of Commander Audubon, who was the youngest but one of a family of twenty-seven, the children of a poor fisherman of Sable de Lorne in France. This worthy man was often seen with his wife and twenty-one children in church. The Commander says that when he was twelve years old his father gave him “A shirt, a warm dress, a cane and his blessing and sent me out to seek my fortune.” The boy shipped before the mast at Nantes and at seventeen was captain of a small trading vessel. Afterwards he bought a fleet of small trading vessels and sailed to San Domingo; there he got a Government appointment. Finally we see him at the court of Napoleon, devoted to the Emperor, and commander of a war vessel. It was in it, I suppose that he visited the French Colony of Louisiana and met the beautiful Anne Monette. They were married and had three sons and a daughter; John James, our Audubon, was the youngest of these.

When he was a few years old his parents went back to San Domingo, where his mother miserably perished in a revolt of the negroes. After that the Commander married again, presumably in France. Audubon's step-mother was devoted to him, but with a foolish devotion that allowed him to stay away from school, stuff himself on candy and dress extravagantly. John's father, finding this out on one of his visits home, hurried the young man off, with only a few hours notice, to school at Rochefort.

Mother Nature had taught Audubon to draw, and at Rochefort he was so fortunate as to have David as his first master. All his spare time at school was spent collecting specimens of birds, butterflies, small animals and fragments of strange looking rock. After his school days his father wanted him to be a soldier of Napoleon—a life that at that time would have satisfied almost any young Frenchman—but Audubon loved a free life, the rain on the mountains, the wind in the trees, sunshine, star-shine, and the song of birds, held a divine harmony for him, a harmony that found a home in his own soul, and is transmitted in his beautiful pictures and writings to us.

Audubon came over to America to manage one of his father's estates in Pennsylvania, called Mill Grove. Next to Mill Grove, is Falland Ford, where Mr. William Bakewell lived, and these two gentlemen hunted and fished together; and there he met and loved at first sight sweet Lucy Bakewell,—who, by the way, is the great, great aunt of our own veteran leader, Rev. A. Gordon Bakewell, the Rector of Trinity Chapel in New Orleans.

Our lover affected velvet coats and lace ruffles while out hunting, filled his home with specimens and dreamed of his life work the "Ornithological Biography," and if you will read Scott's "Peveril of the Peake," it is the romantic history of the house of Basquinle or Bakewell. This pair "loved and married and lived happy ever afterwards."

Several years after the marriage, Audubon sold Mill Grove, and put the money into goods, which he and his partner loaded on an ark and came down the river as far as Hendersonville, Kentucky. He did not take kindly to commercial life, and every time the ark stopped, was off to the woods to collect specimens.

One most provoking time was once when they were ice bound in Kentucky, Audubon went off with some Indians to an inland lake where there was a quantity of white swans.

While wandering about the country he met Daniel Boone, and the first American ornithologist, Alex. Wilson. Naturally commerce did not prosper at this rate, and after many failures we find him in Natchez, Mississippi, (1820) painting portraits for a living. Mrs. Audubon and their two sons were living with her father, as often Audubon did not know where the next meal was coming from. Even at this time of great poverty, which was never hopeless with him, he was corresponding with President Harrison, President Monroe and Henry Clay.

In the meantime, Mrs. Audubon, with the boys, had come to New Orleans and was teaching there; so that Audubon got on a keel-boat and was towed down the river to Bayou Sara. On his way to see her, he was taken in here by Mrs. Lucretia Alston Perrie at Oakley, her plantation home three or four miles from the twin towns of Bayou Sara and St. Francisville. He did not stay long, but went on to New Orleans to his wife. Here, also, he painted portraits for a living, and endured the criticism of "Jarvis" who "objected to his manner of painting birds," but "Vanderlys" encouraged him, and with these ups and downs he turned again to West Feliciana and the friends he had found there. Audubon said himself that he believed Mrs. Perrie only engaged him to teach, that she might further his enterprise. She gave him sixty dollars a month to teach her daughter Eliza, half the day; he spent the other half in his beloved woods. Oakley is beautiful, set in its park of oaks and cedars, and is intact now except that its handsome young chatelaine has seen fit to change the Spanish built steps to a modern pair. On the dining room walls are pictures that Audubon painted and hung there.

In 1823 Mrs. Audubon came up to teach at Mrs. Jane Percy's, where she staid three or four years. The Percy home was "Hollywood" on the big Bayou Sara Creek. Later she taught at Mrs. Wm. Garrett Johnson's, and it seems Mr. and Mrs. Audubon made frequent visits to the home of Dr. Nathaniel Pope in St. Francisville, as described so charmingly by Mrs. John

Monroe Sherrouse in a chapter by itself. Miss Lula Robinson, a granddaughter, kindly loaned me the Mms. to make extracts from, but I think it too valuable and interesting to tamper with. Mrs. Sherrouse is an enthusiastic member of the Audubon Monument Association. The rest of the information I have (1911) is from Mr. Clarence Percy, Sr., Mrs. James Stewart and Mrs. Wm. Walker. In all these homes a life long friendship commenced and an ideal time for the Audubons. They were together, each with perfect love and perfect faith in the other, and each with congenial occupation.

Mrs. Audubon made three thousand dollars per year teaching and gave her husband the money to travel on and study,—out of Nature's book, not in college. She had perfect confidence in him, and he, in himself. Thus she was his help meet in a life time of weary waiting and disheartening misfortune. They lived in West Feliciana sixteen years,—as happy as any they ever spent in all their married life, she making money in the homes of their friends, teaching select schools; fifteen scholars at a time, that she might pour it all in his hands for his life work.

Here is a list of all the scholars that could be remembered, that I am very sure will be precious to their descendants:

Miss Margetta Percy, (Mrs. George W. Sargent).

Miss Sarah Percy, (Mrs. Dr. Provan).

Miss Christine Percy, (Mrs. Dr. A. Dashill). (John Woodhouse Audubon loved Christine).

Miss Julia Ann Randolph, (Mrs. James Stewart).

Miss Sallie Ann Randolph, (Mrs. Jones Stewart).

Miss Augusta Randolph, (Mrs. W. C. S. Ventress).

Miss Francina Ratcliffe, (Mrs. Gen. Brandon).

Miss Amy Mathews, (Mrs. Maj. Chase).

Miss Isabelle Kendrick, (Mrs. David Fluker).

Miss Marshall of Mississippi, whom she taught at the Percy's.

At the Johnson's—

Miss Susan Johnson, (Mrs. Pleasant Harbour).

Miss Malvina D. Johnson, (Mrs. Dr. Warren Stone).

Miss Jane Montgomery, (Mrs. McDermott).

Miss Susan Montgomery, (Mrs. Smiley).

Miss Jane Harbour, (Mrs. James Hill).

Miss Mary Harbour, (Mrs. Dr. M'Ghoon).

Miss Margaret Butler of the "Cottage".

Miss Mary Rucker, (Mrs. James Leake).

And the Mascot, little Ellen Johnson, who married Mr. Wm. Broadner Walker.

The Audubons were so noble, refined and sincere, that the "for true" fairy tale of their happiness comes down to us through the vista of years and changes that have happened since then. The tale is told of how she made a companion of nature for his sake; the long walks they took together on the white sand of the creek bottom and the beautiful West Feliciana hills. How the seasons came and went with happiness, and were counted by the "drumming" partridge, the call of the whip-poor-will, the changing opal on the dove's breast, and the long flight of birds to the southward when winter winds blew.

Audubon, as was his wont, would dress in his old brown hunting suit (perhaps homespun or leather), and go off for weeks in the forest to live with the birds and beasts—and he said, "spirits." While at Mrs. Percy's he made his book so complete that he began to travel about to get subscribers for it that he might get it published. In 1824 he went to Philadelphia and there met Prince Canino Le Sueur, Sully, Peale, Joseph Bonaparte and daughter, DeWitt Clinton, and the Rev. John Hopkins, who converted him to Episcopacy.

He also had a sweet and affecting visit to Mill Grove, and rushed out to the place where Lucy Bakewell had promised to marry him, and gave thanks for their marriage. Then he started home in a skiff from Pittsburg and came all the way down to Bayou Sara. On arriving there before day in the morning, he got a horse and started out to see his wife, who was only about twenty-five miles off at "Hollywood." His "bump of locality" was so strong that he never dreamed of getting lost, but just outside of town, in his haste, he missed his way and rode around and around in the quicksand until he was almost drowned. I have had the place pointed out to me.

Audubon commenced to teach again after his arrival, giving

his wife's pupils music, drawing and French. He also had a dancing class of sixty in Woodville, Mississippi, which was near by. When he had made two thousand dollars, he again sailed for Europe, arriving in England on the 20th of July, 1826. His business was to have plates made of his paintings, that his book could be published.

Here he met Mr. Roscoe, Lord Stanley, Baron Humbolt, Sir Walter Scott, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Hannah More, Miss Edgeworth, and at Edenburgh, Francis Jeffries, Lord Elgin, and Lady Mary Clark. All these became his patrons; Sir Walter Scott showed his book to George the IV, who pronounced it "fine."

Audubon's star was then in the ascendant. He got many subscribers, dressed well, was feted and made honorary member of societies and had a good time generally, which he enjoyed with all his simple and boyish nature. But over the sea and far in the Louisiana hills, a little dark-haired and grey-eyed woman was working and waiting for him, so he ran away from it all to Manchester, to a place where she had played when a child, and gathered wild-flowers and spars to bring her.

On November 9th, 1827, the first book was published. One of the worst misfortunes that ever happened to man was that the publishing house burned and every one of his pictures destroyed, and he had to come home and make them every one over. We find him at Rev. John Bachman's in Charleston. (John and Victor both married the daughters of this gentleman.)

The years are slipping away, Audubon is on the heights now, he has walked nearly over America, listened to every bird song, lain for hours motionless as the log he resembled watching his beloved nature. A figure colossal he stands on America his keen ear catching every bird-note from the whirl of the humming bird to the beat of the eagle's wings, and cry of the sea birds far out in the Western breakers.

John and Victor have lived their happy boyhood in West Feliciana and are working at Louisville, Kentucky, Mrs. Audubon is still teaching, now at Mrs. Garrett Johnsons. (1826).

One day of sweet memory I went to Baton Rouge to see Mrs.

Wm. Walker, "Little Ellen Johnson" the youngest of the Johnson sisters, too young to go to school, but privileged to Mr. Audubon's lap, while he taught or painted; also to hold his specimens while he practiced taxidermy, or hold the branches of trees, while he posed his birds true to nature and painted them.

I am familiar with Beech Grove, her old home, and Mrs. Walker's crepe cap and silver curls seemed turned to gold again and a sunbonnet lilted by one string, as "Little Ellen" led me by the hand up the steep steps to the north room, which was studio and schoolroom, with a long table down the middle of the room in lieu of desks, to hold his specimens.

The big, dark closet behind us where Miss Sarah Johnson used to keep the pictures he gave her,—one was the unfinished portrait of Mrs. Audubon and the boys. The Yankees took or destroyed them all. The room is long and low, four windows north, east and west; the paper mulberries are softly clashing together, and telling of the wild, as in Audubon's time, and the huge pink and white japonicas are keeping watch over the little "Box" hedge as of yore. This was the view he had from the north window, and over the woods to the hazy blue hills. Almost in the foreground was a tall leafless pine, once the resting place of an eagle. Audubon killed it, painted the picture, and gave it to Mr. Johnson.

Down in the beautiful grassy yard, shaded by oaks and sycamores, the Johnson and Audubon children played, forming a friendship that nothing could break. One day John hitched a calf to a little cart and took Ellen to ride and dumped the young lady in the pond. John had to fish her out, a sight to behold.

It was in that north room that Audubon finished his own portrait by looking in a mirror and painting his reflection. It was begun by a friend, presumably Bachman. That portrait was until recently in the possession of Mrs. John Hampden Randolph, the daughter of Mrs. Walker, but she, unfortunately, sold it to Mr. David Murrell, of Paducah, Kentucky. The picture is not life size, but the portrait of a rather dark, thin Frenchman with particularly fine grey eyes; the dark wavy hair is thrown back from a beautiful brow, the lips thin, sweet and expressive; it is a speaking likeness and wrought by the hand of the master.

Another picture of him Mrs. Randolph has, is a cabinet photograph of a man a little past middle age in hunting dress, with his favorite dog. This picture was sent Mrs. Randolph by Audubon's granddaughter. Professor Randolph then kindly lighted me to the dining room to show me his portion of the pictures from his father's subscription. The rest had been divided among ten brothers and sisters. The Professor's father, John Hamden Randolph, having been one of the dancing class at Woodville.

There has been a little controversy over the "Turkey" picture; I have heard there were two "gobbler" pictures but have never seen but one of them so can't describe it; that was given to Mr. David Fluker of Asphodel Plantation near Thompson's Creek. Mrs. A. Doherty, of Baton Rouge, has a picture of a turkey hen and young.

Audubon was once taken very sick and was cared for by Dr. John B. Hereford in his own home, Oak Grove. When convalescing, he wandered around in the neighborhood and at a place which we call "The Doctor's Spring" to this day, he saw and painted the mother and her brood. She is on a little knoll, which makes a background and is covered with Louisiana grass. All of Audubon's bird pictures are life-size and show some natural peculiarity. Now this turkey mother is listening, with one foot up and her head slightly turned; you think every minute she will put that foot down, but she doesn't and is not going to do so, until she finds out what she is listening for. One little turkey has fallen over, right under her feet, to catch a tick on its wing. Two young ones are reaching after bugs under the leaves, and the others, taking advantage of this listening moment to pick grass seeds. This beautiful picture he presented to Dr. Hereford in gratitude, and, this with some other of his paintings, is among Mrs. Dougherty's chief treasures. She was Miss Hereford.

Mr. Clarence Percy told me of the visit John Woodhouse made to West Feliciana in 1850, or '60. How he rushed around to places of "Auld lang syne," remembering everything, after all those years. The Audubons had left West Feliciana in 1836 for their own New York home. Mr. Percy said that he

himself, was quite a dandy at that time, but was only too glad to follow John about and hear his wonderful adventures with man and beast in the Rocky Mountains. And then his reminiscences as they went through hill and vale, creek and wood. He quite disdained a horse and walked to all the old haunts, his unerring memory guiding him. "He did not think there were as many birds as when he was a boy," and would exclaim again and again at the "beauty" of the *Magnolia Grandiflora* and say it was the most beautiful tree in the world. He pointed to a tree in a yard and told how he had climbed into it once and a snake poked its head out of a hole. He was so startled that he fell backward, and in answer to the children's jeers said; "If you go up in that tree you will see the scarest snake you ever saw."

On the Bayou Sara Creek he showed me the place he and his father used to fish and bathe in. One place was the waterfall on the Joe Roberts property, called the silver bath; a favorite resort for the men and boys of that day. His face would beam with delight as he related the sports of his boyhood, and he would exclaim, "West Feliciana is one of the brightest spots on earth to me." He showed me the place where his father watched the "habits of the beaver," and it is still remembered on the old Doherty property, now the home of Mrs. Burekhalter. And the red clay too, he took particular notice of,—his father had made fine paint of it.

His jokes reminded me of one in his mother's school. Ann Mathews wanted to pay a compliment to Mr. Audubon by saying good night to him in French; so she asked one of the girls how to do it. "Go to him" very courteously said this mischief, "and say, 'Bon Soir Chat.'" Ann did it, in all innocence, and what was her horror to find she had said "Good night, cat." It made Mr. Audubon quite angry.

When John went to visit the Johnsons, he sent word for the girls to "come and see an old friend." The three sisters entered together, and John caught all three rapturously and kissed them. Ellen said, "they were delighted to see him."

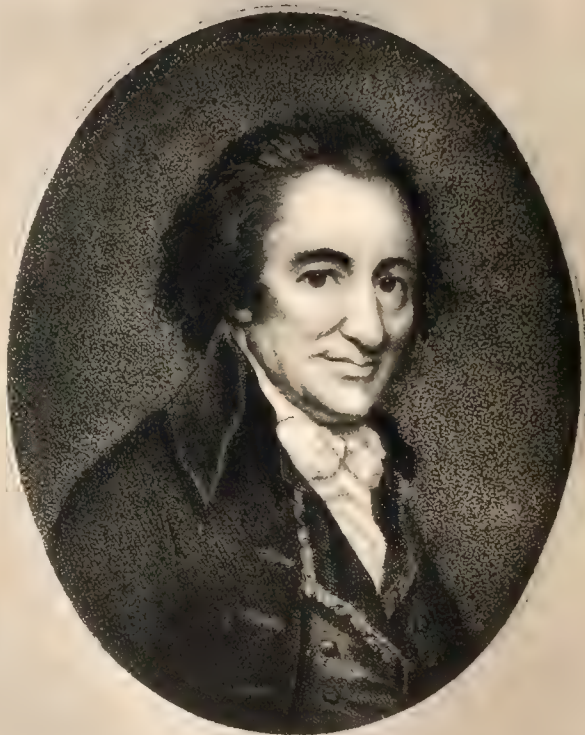
Mrs. Jane Dashill afterward visited them in New York, and said she had never seen such simple, happy-minded people. The

three Audubons were working on "Animals of America" when she was there. These good and gifted people lived on adjoining estates, a happy family party with children and grandchildren about them.

On Thursday, January 27th, 1851, this great man died, and, at his own request, was buried in Trinity Chapel yard; which also adjoined their estate on the Hudson.

I do not think it out of place to mention the old residents of Natchez, Mississippi, that Audubon was friends with. I am indebted to Mr. Percy for these. Also Judge Elijah Smith and his sons Charles Percy and William Sydney Smith; W. W. Mercer; Geo. W. Sarent; Wm. J. Minor; James Collander Williams; David and Elijah Hunt; Campbell and James C. Wilkins.

Mention is made also of a beautiful picture of Natchez, eight by four feet. Fort Rosalie, the river-road, and Mrs. Smith driving to town in a gig, with a bob-tailed horse. In Ante Bellum days this was owned by a gentleman named Profilet, and hung in his jewelry store, where is it now? Surely it ought to be in the State Capitol or Corcoran Gallery.



J. Beaucelle del et sculp

THOMAS PAINE.

Ex Député à la Convention Nationale.

Was Thomas Paine Infidel at Heart

ERNEST C. MOSES.

WITH a profound sense of wisdom and justice Thomas Carlyle wrote: "For all right judgment of any man, it is useful, nay, essential, to see his good qualities before pronouncing on his bad." On this basis of judgment to secure a fair estimate of the real Thomas Paine we should first recognize and comment on the great services rendered by him to America in the Revolutionary struggle, also reviewing a few extracts from his writings which give some idea of the humane character of Paine. Thus a reasonable knowledge of his influence for good as presented in his major achievement and in the best declarations from his pen on metaphysical subjects will help each reader to find his own answer to the question raised in the subject of this article.

After the coalition of the American Colonies had been established through the work and plan of Benjamin Franklin in 1774-75 the idea of their independence from the dominion of Great Britain commenced to dawn as a natural consequence in the thought of the anti-tory leaders of that period. The next great need of that crucial turning point called for a writer who could illumine the idea and give it a right impetus in the public mind. The leading patriots were convinced that political separation from foreign authority was inevitable, but the people of that epoch were not assured. They needed to better understand why political independence was really the only solution of the problems before the country. They were willing to go forward once they were persuaded that political separation was fully justified. But no newspaper had publicly urged the measure in the right way; no man of inspiration to write and courage to

stand for independence had come to the front to promote the idea on the basis of reason, justice and unfettered progress for America.

This great need of a thorough advertisement of the independence idea by an intelligent and urgent appeal to the common sense of the people was finally met early in January of 1776 through Thomas Paine, who was then living in Philadelphia. He was one of the most generous patriots and liberal thinkers of that period of history, a man of unusual perseverance and courage. He accomplished much for the liberating of human thought from the bondage of fear and tradition by his voluminous writings. However much he may have darkened his own reputation by irrational attacks on the Christian religion Paine will always be remembered as a very influential factor in the cause of American liberty. In fact it can be said that the rising sun of American Independence appeared full orb'd in 1776 largely because of the grand work of this noted Englishman who obeyed an impulse far higher than man's imagination when he placed his heart and his fearless talents at the service of the American cause .

Thomas Paine was born in Thetford, England, in poverty, and grew up to manhood surrounded by influences which caused him early in life to question and distrust the "divine right of kings." The monarchical system of government seemed to oppress him and he witnessed many evidences of its injustice in his own immediate surroundings. He learned the trade of stay-maker with his father and then worked into political life with experiences which only served to intensify his feelings of hostility to the methods of government in vogue in England at that time. Early in the seventies he met Dr. Benjamin Franklin in London who recognized his fine abilities and he suggested that Paine would find a grand and needy field for his talents in America. His whole heart and sympathy were then strongly enlisted in the cause of the American states, and he was glad to make it his own.

So Paine decided to go to America and throw his energies on to the side of freedom and progress for the New World. He landed in Philadelphia November 30, 1774, and with letters of

recommendation from Franklin he quickly secured a position with Robert Aiken, printer, and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* in Philadelphia, at a salary of about \$250 per year. His pen was soon industriously engaged in the cause of justice and liberty.

On October 18, 1775, an article from his pen appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* under the title of "A Serious Thought" which was one of the earliest forecasts of independence ever published in the States. In this article he berated the wrong colonial methods of the English ministry, its treatment of the Indians, and prophesied the final emancipation of the African slaves in America. This article closed with the following grand summary:

"I hesitate not for a moment to believe that the Almighty will finally separate America from Britain. Call it Independency, or what you will, if it is the cause of God and humanity it will go on. And when the Almighty shall have blest us and made us a people dependent only on Him, then may our gratitude be shown by an act of continental legislation which shall put a stop to the importation of negroes for sale, soften the hard fate of those already here, and in time procure their freedom—*Humanus*."

In reading these prophetic lines and many others which proceeded from the fluent quill of Paine, one may indeed wonder with cause, how the man could ever have been justly called an "infidel." He usually expressed himself with great reverence when Deity was mentioned, and most of his life indicated a continuous desire to benefit his fellow beings. Indeed, his life was a fair paraphrase of his famous declaration: "The world is my country; my religion is to do good."

None of the writings of Thomas Paine more clearly indicate his wonderful perception of the indestructible facts which should govern humanity than his "Rights of Man." An extract from this very logical defense of man's social privileges will tell us something of the mental calibre of the man who fired the zeal of the Americans to take their stand for liberty and progress in 1776. On the fundamental law and origin of man he writes as follows:

“Why not trace the rights of man to the creation of man? I will answer the question. Because they have been upstart governments, thrusting themselves between and presumptuously working to *unmake* man. If any generation of men ever possessed the right of dictating the mode by which the world should be governed, it was the first generation that existed; and if that generation did it not, no succeeding generation can show any authority for doing it, nor can set any up. The illuminating and divine principle of the equal rights of men (for it has its origin from the Maker of man) related not only to the living individuals, but to generations of men succeeding each other. . . . Every history of creation . . . agrees in establishing one point, the unity of man; by which I mean that men are all of one degree, and consequently that all men are born equal. . . . The Mosaic account of creation whether taken as divine authority, or merely historical, is full of this point, *the unity or equality of man*. The expression admits of no controversy—‘And God said, let us make man in our own image. . . . In the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.’ . . . If this be not divine authority it is at least historical authority, and shows that the equality of man, so far from being a modern doctrine, is the oldest on record! . . . It is one of the greatest of all truths and of the highest advantage to cultivate. By considering man in this light and by instructing him to consider himself in this light, it places him in a close connection with all his duties, whether to his Creator, or to the creation of which he is a part.”

It would appear from these declarations that the prime reason why Thomas Paine was not better understood and appreciated in his own time was the fact that he was fully one century ahead of his contemporaries and critics. Thousands will to-day unite in stating that viewed in the right light Paine’s analyses are as true and indestructible as “the rock of ages.” They live by reason of their own inherent vitality and bless all who are willing to understand their glorious foundation.

It was Paine’s famous pamphlet entitled “Common Sense” which appeared in January, 1776, that aroused the American people to a realization of their duty and their political rights.

This little pamphlet projected at just the right moment did more than the writings of a decade preceding to strengthen the sentiment of total separation from Britain. After giving ample reasons for such action he stated that "the blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries out 'TIS TIME TO PART!'" He opposed every suggestion of reconciliation, reminding the people that in reality—"the last cord is broken." Commenting on their natural rights Paine wrote:

"The Almighty hath implanted in us these inextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the guardians of His image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common animals. The social compact would dissolve and justice be extirpated from the earth, or have only a casual existence, were we callous to the touches of affection."

In conclusion of a re-issue of "Common Sense" he wrote:

"On these grounds I rest the matter. And as no offer hath yet been made to refute the doctrine contained in former editions of this pamphlet, it is a negative proof that either the doctrine cannot be refuted or that the party in favor of it are too numerous to be opposed. Wherefore, instead of gazing at each other with suspicious or doubtful curiosity, let each of us hold out to his neighbor the hearty hand of friendship and unite in drawing a line, which like an act of oblivion shall bury in forgetfulness every former dissention. Let the name of Whig and Tory be extinct; and let none other be heard among us than those of a good citizen, an open and absolute friend; and a supporter of the rights of mankind and of the free and Independent States of America."

Thomas Paine was really a man of generous heart, courage and wonderful intelligence. He was never a "man of destiny" in the common estimation of the term, for in social matters he was too radical to please the people. But he nevertheless was a man of great genius and the memory of his political services should always be held in high esteem by our people. It hardly seems just to classify him as an infidel. He disagreed with many schools of popular theology, but this did not prevent him from loving his Maker and humanity, whom he served most effectively in the cause of American liberty.

The one glaring fault of Thomas Paine was an intemperate radicalism. His attitude toward the established institutions of his day was often expressed in premature declarations which did not fit the times nor temper of the people. It was his habit to unwisely push certain propositions in the realm of moral beliefs onto the public thought before the people were in any measure ready to receive or accept them.

While the great agitator displayed wonderful wisdom in some of his political writings, he seemed far from being right in his unwise hostility to all the established religions of his day. Without doubt he was right in regard to the question of complete independence of the American Colonies, and in some measure he may have held correct concepts respecting religious matters. But his criticisms of existing methods of religious worship were destructive rather than constructive. That is, his sweeping denunciations of the churches of his time in effect would have taken away from their adherents whatever of good their beliefs brought them, without giving them a moral philosophy or means of worship which they could prove to be better. At least, he was not successful in establishing a following of believers would could show by their fruits that Paine had given them better concepts of God and man, and of man's moral duties, than they received from the churches against which he continually directed his keen invectives and condemnations.

Paine's pronounced hostilities against all the established religions of the eighteenth century brought down upon his unprotected head the anathemas of those whom he opposed, and the counter forces of human thought seemed to react upon him and embitter his stay on earth. His friends often remonstrated with him, but he usually set aside their advice and permitted his pen and voice to continue an antagonism which was harmful to both himself and humanity in general.

As one of the conspicuous leaders in the cause of American liberty in a period of great political unrest, the sensitive Paine was much affected by the mental collisions produced in America and Europe by the separation between church and state in the New World. Political independence and religious liberty were closely woven together in America. There was both ec-

clesiastical despotism and royal caprice to deal with. Paine struck out with one arm for political liberty while the other moved for religious emancipation because the fermentations of the hour often controlled him unconsciously. His strictures against religion were without doubt the result of the whip-sawing which was going on at that time in the public mind because of the radical severance of church and state in the new order of affairs.

In his "Age of Reason" Mr. Paine certainly made it plain that he had a high regard for the fundamental goodness of the teachings of Christ Jesus, however little he may have understood their spiritual import or true methods of practicing them. On page 26 the writer tells us that—"The morality that he (Jesus) preached and practiced was of the most benevolent kind. . . . it has not been exceeded by any." On page 76 of the same work Paine declared some ideas of beneficence which were indeed consonant with, and without doubt based on, the principles and precepts taught by Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount,—in these words: "The only idea we can have of serving God is that of contributing to the happiness of the living creation that God has made."

Again, in his Recapitulation (p. 83) Paine's declaration of his understanding of human duty was quite in accord with the Master's famous commandment—"that ye love one another." Paine wrote: "The moral duty of man consists in imitating the moral goodness of God toward all His creatures. That seeing, as we daily do, the goodness of God to all men, it is an example calling upon all men to practice the same towards each other; and consequently that every thing of persecution, of revenge between man and man, and every thing of cruelty to animals is a violation of moral duty." The Master Christian taught the same idea of imitating the deific nature when he said in the famous hillside sermon: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

Paine also declared the same idea on another page of "Age of Reason" wherein he wrote: "It is from the study of the true theology that all our knowledge of science is derived; and it is from that knowledge that all the parts have originated. The

Almighty . . . by displaying the principles of science in the structure of the universe has invited man to study and to imitation. It is as if He had said to the inhabitants of this globe that we call ours: 'I have made an earth for man to dwell upon, and I have rendered the starry heavens visible to teach him science and the arts. He can now provide for his own comfort, and learn from my munificence to all, to be *kind to one another.*'"

From these glimpses into the best sentiments of Thomas Paine, who can doubt that his heart and face were turned toward the light, however much he may have battled with, and spread abroad, his own misconceptions of the Bible and Christianity. No valid or extenuating excuse ever has been found, or can be found to justify Paine's labored attacks on the Bible. They fall to the ground in every age as would paper-wads against the iron-clad sides of a modern dreadnaught. The Scriptures are indeed the most sacred literary possessions of advanced humanity, and Paine's mistreatment of them has stained his memory with a hue quite at variance with the indelible color of his true philanthropic character.

It might be said that the views which he expressed on religion often obscured the real Tom Paine and misrepresented his true moral nature. But in spite of this mental impressment he accomplished much good for his fellow citizens, for in the political arena and in industrial affairs he was a man of wisdom, courage and philanthropy.

Paine once submitted some of his writings which antagonized religion to Mr. Franklin, and the sage displayed much wisdom and tolerance in his kindly advice to the writer. Franklin's answer will serve to-day as a mirror which gives us some idea of the sentiments that were evidently uppermost in Paine's composition. The philosopher's friendly criticism read as follows:

"I have read your manuscript with some attention. By the argument it contains against a particular Providence, though you allow a general Providence, you strike at the foundations of all religions. For without a belief of a Providence that takes cognizance of, guards, and guides, and may favor particular

persons, there is no motive to worship a Diety, to fear his displeasure, or to pray for his protection.

“. . . You yourself may find it easy to live a virtuous life, without the assistance afforded by religion; you having a clear perception of the advantages of virtue and the disadvantages of vice, and possessing a strength of resolution sufficient to enable you to resist common temptations. But think how great a portion of mankind consists of weak and ignorant men and women, and of inexperienced, inconsiderate youth of both sexes who have need of the motives of religion to restrain them from vice, to support their virtue, and retain them in the practice of it. . . . And perhaps you are indebted to her originally, that is, to your religious education, for the habits of virtue upon which you now justly value yourself. . . .”

“I would advise you therefore not to attempt unchaining the tiger, but to burn this piece before it is seen by any other person; whereby you will save yourself a great deal of mortification by the enemies it may raise against you, and perhaps a good deal of regret and repentance. If men are so wicked with religion, what would they be without it? I intend this letter as proof of my friendship, and therefore add no profession to it; but subscribe myself simply yours.”

B. Franklin.

Paine was not much affected by this discourse and continued to stir up the waters of human belief without offering anything to the people to nourish the cravings of their moral natures.

His teachings were therefore rather demoralizing to the religious beliefs entertained by the people of his own times, and much reading of his critical works to-day still makes detrimental impressions on human thought. Therefore, it seems clear that more salutary results can be secured by turning the searchlights of estimation onto the positive elements of his character, and by ceasing to give his hostile views of Christianity the negative influence which many have ascribed to them.

Paine's experiences point to the fact that the law of progress demands of all reformers that they shall refrain from bitterly attacking any established institutions which in reasonable degrees are helpful to the people. It also tells us that the true philanthropist can only succeed by offering the people something better than their traditional establishments afford.

How fallacious it is for men to ruthlessly criticise and condemn the institutions of moral education evolved in the upward trend of civilization, while they present to their fellow beings no higher strainings of truth to bring them nearer to heaven—to awaken them to the well-springs of harmony within them! The higher criticism can only be manifested with success by those who are willing to retain “all the good the past hath had” and who are equipped to meet the human needs of to-day by more of practical good than inherited systems are capable of supplying. If a fair consideration of the unique career and writings of Paine emphasizes no more than the foregoing fact, the study of his life would not be in vain.

But a just review of the career and influence of Paine on American affairs viewed through the lens of unbiased modern criticism brings out far more than a solitary lesson to religious reformers. There were three sides to his life and only two are worth remembering. They are these:

First: The impulses and works of Thomas Paine preponderated largely on the side of liberty and the general uplift of humanity. This side of his character proved that he loved his brother man and desired to advance the reign of justice and benevolence throughout the world.

Second: His strictures against religion were very largely protests against academic Christianity; and these may be heeded even to-day. Paine believed in practical Christianity, but found this element often sadly lacking on the part of some of its most eloquent professors. Therefore, he fusiladed the wrong concepts of Christianity which existed in his own day, rather than the real element of truth within it.

Third: The intemperate views of religion which cropped out of his writings were the froth and fumes of a profound chemicalization in public thought due to the separation of state affairs from ecclesiastical dominion in America during the eighteenth century. These views of religion never represented the true Thomas Paine; therefore they are neither worth considering at length nor remembering. The good he accomplished lives on, and that is why there never has been a pen lacking to defend his memory and to acknowledge his virtues.



Garrison

John Wesley Jarvis

BY WILLIAM M. VAN DER WEYDE

THE most ephemeral of all things is fame. The "bubble reputation" only too often dissolves into air like the foam on the wave crest. We soon forget.

One of America's greatest artists, famous in his day and now forgotten, is John Wesley Jarvis. One hundred years ago Jarvis stood at the forefront of American portrait painters. None of his contemporaries excelled him in his clever handling of the brush, and a great many celebrated men sat before his easel for their portraits. Today it is only the visitor to art collections, or the student pondering the records of a century ago, that encounters Jarvis' name. So fugacious, so evanescent a thing is fame!

Some fine examples of Jarvis' work are displayed on the walls of the Governors' Room and in the Aldermanic Chamber of the New York City Hall. The collection includes portraits of Commodore Perry, Commodore Hull, General Brown, Commodore Bainbridge, Commodore Swift and Commodore McDonough. They all evidence genius of a very superior order. The New York Historical Society also has a number of works of Jarvis, among them portraits of DeWitt Clinton, Robert Morris, John Randolph and John Standford.

Jarvis painted two very fine portraits of Thomas Paine, the great author, statesman and philosopher. One of these is owned by the Thomas Paine National Historical Association and is now on exhibition at the Thomas Paine National Museum. The other portrait seems to have been lost. Diligent search for it has not revealed its hiding place. The lost portrait shows Paine at the age of 68, when he was again living in America after his

return from France, where he had taken an active part in the revolution. It is a very striking likeness of the old patriot, the face beaming with characteristic benevolence and the eyes exhibiting their wonderful old time fire. A wood cut copy of this painting was printed in the "Bible of Nature," published in Albany, 1842. This is the only copy of this Paine portrait known.

Jarvis, like Paine, was born in England. He came to America in 1785 when but five years old. He was named after his uncle, the famous John Wesley, founder of Methodism, with whom he lived in his infancy. At five he was sent to Philadelphia to join his father who had settled in that city.

When still very young Jarvis showed talent with the pencil and an inclination toward the artistic. He developed a liking for engraving and when still in his teens did some creditable work on boxwood. Then he came to New York where he developed his talent for painting. At twenty years of age he was already known as a clever sketcher and had the reputation of invariably "catching the likeness."

In New York Jarvis made the acquaintance of Joseph Wood, also a painter and also young. Both were extremely Bohemian in tastes and found themselves to be of very congenial temperaments. Wood was an accomplished musician, playing a number of instruments, his favorites being the violin and flute. Jarvis had already achieved reputation as a *arconteur*. The two formed a partnership and went into the business of making silhouettes, then very popular. They rented a ground floor on Park Row, not far from the present Brooklyn Bridge entrance and displayed before the door a large frame filled with silhouettes cut out of black paper and gold leaf. Over the frame was a sign with the words "Jarvis & Wood, Silhouettists."

In these days silhouettes as portraits were as popular as today photographs are, and the really clever portraitist in scissored black paper had all the business he cared to handle. In consequence Jarvis and Wood prospered. They charged one dollar each for the silhouettes cut out of paper and five dollars apiece for those made of gold leaf. The profits averaged \$100 daily, and this the partners divided at the end of each day. Jar-

vis devised a "profile machine"—as he called it—which greatly aided in the making of the silhouettes and also saved much time.

Having earned considerable money in the making of silhouettes, Jarvis and Wood, both ambitious, determined to do more serious work. They wanted to paint portraits instead of cutting them out of paper. In 1804 the two young men hung up their shingle as "portrait painters" at 28 Wall street. Jarvis at the same time conducted an engraving establishment at 28 Frankfort street.

Both Jarvis and Wood were very popular. Jarvis kept "bachelor's hall" in an old-fashioned building on a side street, and with Wood's assistance kept open house to all friends in their interesting circle. Wood furnished the music—always of the liveliest sort—at these Bohemian gatherings, and Jarvis amused the company by his droll and witty stories. The fun was "fast and furious" till the "wee sma' hours." Jarvis was never so fortunate as to be able to keep in his apartment such a thing as a drinking glass, and when the visitors arrived he immediately produced a shaving mug from which all drank in turn to the merriest of toasts.

It is recorded of Jarvis that "he was social by instinct, convivial by temperament and capable of vigorous artistic effects. He had a host of acquaintances and was very imprudent and reckless. He possessed great humor, keen observation and violent prejudices and was noted for his genial fellowship."

Jarvis was very egotistical and craved notoriety. He dressed fantastically and attracted much attention on the streets. In the winter he generally wore a long coat trimmed with fur. Two huge dogs always accompanied him on his walks. At times he affected the extremes of fashion and for that reason was noted by the passing pedestrians. At other times he called attention to himself by the shabbiness of his attire.

A description of Jarvis' room is interesting. "His rooms were in chaotic condition. There was a juxtaposition of artistic implements and domestic utensils, palettes in all conditions being strewn about the place, as well as decanters, dresses, a cradle, an easel, musical glasses, books, lay figures, all sorts of things—picturesque but rarely comfortable. Yet amid this parapher-

nalía of art and economy the richest 'feast of reason and flow of soul' would be often realized. At Jarvis' midnight parties canvas-back ducks would be eaten with a one-pronged fork and rare wines drunk without the aid of a corkscrew."

In 1805 Jarvis and his friend Wood added miniature painting to their work and moved from Wall street to 37 Chatham street. Jarvis still maintained his engraving establishment on Frankfort street, and there also taught drawing. Among his pupils was Henry Inman, destined to later become a famous American painter.

Jarvis was very popular in his circle of friends, which included Washington Irving, Robert Fulton, Bass Otis, the painter, Col. John Fellows, Elihu Palmer, Thomas Addis Emmett, Thomas Paine, and other noted persons of that time.

Jarvis was very fond of Paine and the two often had long talks together on all manner of topics, from the rights of women and arbitration among the nations of the world to old age pensions and the abolition of negro slavery, subjects very dear to Paine since he was the pioneer in advocacy of each.

In 1806 Jarvis and Wood removed to 40 Wall street and Jarvis took up living quarters at 85 Church street. Toward the end of the year he invited Paine to move his effects to the Church street house and come there to live with him. Paine had been in bad health and was uncomfortably and unhappily situated in his lodgings, and was glad to avail himself of Jarvis' invitation to take rooms at his house. Jarvis was still a young man, while Paine was nearly seventy years of age, but the difference in their ages did not affect their *camaraderie* in the least. Gilbert Vale, who personally knew Jarvis, published in 1840 a Life of "Thomas Paine." In this biography he says that at Jarvis' home Paine soon recovered his health and the two "became good companions; the one the greatest wit of the age and the other, though now an old man, not deficient in sprightly thoughts or conversation, and abounding in information."

At Jarvis' Church street home was painted the portrait of Paine which I have previously spoken of as lost. Here, too, was doubtless made by the versatile Jarvis, the plaster bust of Paine which is now at the New York Historical Society, a plastic

representation of the great author in his old age so like the lost portrait made at about the same time that each is convincing evidence of the truthful representation in the other. Both are doubtless excellent portraits of Paine at sixty-nine years of age. The bust of Paine never received its final touches from the sculptor, and is still in an unfinished state.

Jarvis had entirely given up all his work in silhouettes and was devoting himself to painting. Occasionally he modelled something in clay but this he did only as a diversion and very seldom. So, too, he occasionally cut from paper the silhouette of some friend. While Paine lived with him at the Church street house Jarvis made his silhouette. It is a very clever piece of work. Paine appreciated the genius of Jarvis in this as in other directions and presented the silhouette to Elihu Palmer, a well-known Deistical preacher and "teacher of natural religion," who was a great admirer of Paine. Mrs. Palmer, after her husband's death, sent the silhouette to a relative in England, and she in turn sent it to Dr. Moncure Conway, the editor of Paine's works and author of the "Life of Thomas Paine." Thus the quaint silhouette of Paine fashioned by his friend Jarvis has been preserved for future ages.

Bass Otis, a painter of some reputation early in the last century, was a friend of Jarvis, and the two had at one time some sort of partnership. Jarvis painted a portrait of Otis and Otis in turn painted Jarvis. Otis also painted a portrait of Paine, which is now on exhibition in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Tuckerman in his "Book of Artists," refers to the eccentricities of Jarvis and tells of "his love of notoriety, his fantasy in costume, his imitative skill, remarkable conversational talents, independent habits, his fund of amusing stories, costly dinners and improvised suppers." He says that Jarvis displayed "dogmatical pride and relished an opinion antagonistic to the multitude."

To Thomas Paine he was devotedly attached. Paine had advanced opinions, both political and religious, that were "antagonistic to the multitude." In these opinions Jarvis heartily concurred. Paine's "Rights of Man" and "Age of Reason," Jarvis

pronounced the greatest works ever written in humanity's behalf, an opinion in which very many people concur today.

When living at Jarvis' home Paine shrewdly foresaw the effort that would be made by some fanatics to circulate a story of death-bed repentance and recantation when he was dying. He told Jarvis he felt confident that attempts would be made to convert him to Christianity, and that after his death a tale would be spread about of his ultimate conversion. "Now I am in health, Jarvis," he said, "and in perfect soundness of mind, now is the time to express my opinion." Then he called Jarvis to witness that his opinions had not changed and he solemnly repeated his belief in all that he had written in the "Age of Reason."

Jarvis a couple of years later saw Paine's prophecy come true. When Paine lay on his death bed, weak and suffering, clergymen and others forced their way to his side and tried to extort from him some sort of recantation. Even his own physician was guilty of so annoying the dying man. But not a word of retraction were any of his visitors able to force from his lips. To the repeated urging of his physician to announce at last a belief in the matters he had written against the staunch old Deist, replied, "I have no wish to believe." These were his last words on the subject of religion. But, as Paine foresaw, a tale was circulated as soon as his death was announced that he had recanted. The fable was proved such by living witnesses and eventually the author of the story, one Mary Hinsdale, confessed to her having concocted the yarn out of nothing. She had never even seen Thomas Paine.

Jarvis and other friends knew the story was false and did what they could to stop its circulation, but to quote the old saying, "lies travel fast," and for a long time the yarn received credence.

When Paine died—June 8, 1809,—Jarvis made a death mask of his old friend's face. The death mask is now at the Thomas Paine National Museum.

Jarvis survived Paine thirty years, during which time he accomplished much good work. In 1815 he had his studio on lower Broadway at Bowling Green, in the house that was built as a

residence for the President of the United States, later becoming the Governor's house and subsequently the U. S. Custom House.

Jarvis, despite the fact that he was an extremely successful portrait painter and earned a great deal of money at the zenith of his career, died in extreme poverty at the home of his sister, Mrs. Childs.

He was a man of rare talents and one of the most gifted portraitists America has ever known. American art owes much to this clever painter of a century ago, but she has forgotten to pay her debt. Recognition came to John Wesley Jarvis only in his lifetime. The most ephemeral of all things is fame.

History of the Mormon Church

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CHAPTER LXX

THE PIONEER JOURNEY: FROM FORT LARAMIE TO SALT LAKE VALLEY

FORT LARAMIE was situated about two miles from the South bank of the Platte, on the left bank of the Laramie River, and about a mile and a half from its confluence with the Platte. The Laramie is a mountain stream and its pure, clear water, for the Pioneers, was in pleasant contrast with the muddy, yellow waters of the Platte. It took its name from a French trapper who in the earliest fur hunting times was killed on the stream by the Arapahoe Indians.

The walls of Fort Laramie were built of clay or unburnt brick, being about 15 feet high "and of a rectangular construction, measuring on the exterior 116 by 168 feet. Ranges of houses were built in the interior adjoining the walls, leaving a central yard of about 100 feet square. The post belonged to the American Fur Company, and was occupied by about eighteen men with their families under the charge of Mr. Boudeau."¹ A mile further down the river, but nearer to the right bank of the Platte than to the Laramie stream, was "Fort Platte," founded

1. "Such is the description of the Fort by Orson Pratt, see journal entry for June 1st. It differs but slightly from Col. Fremont's description of five years before. The latter adds the following concerning the entrances to the Fort: "There are two entrances, opposite each other and midway the wall, one of which is a large public entrance; the other smaller and more private, a sort of postern gate. Over the great entrance is a square tower with loop holes, and like the rest of the work, built of earth. At two of the angles, and diagonally opposite each other are large square bastions, so arranged as to sweep the four faces of the walls" (Report of First Expedition 1842, p. 39). For a brief History of Fort Laramie see note I end of chapter.

in 1842, but at the time of the arrival of the Pioneers it was vacated and just crumbling into ruins.²

When it was learned that the north bank of the Platte could be followed no further, the Pioneers obtained the use of a good flat boat from the agents of the American Fur Company at the Fort for the sum of \$15.00, and the 2nd, 3rd and part of the 4th of June was occupied in ferrying their seventy-three wagons over to the South bank of the Platte. While the ferrying over was in progress a pit of charcoal was burned and the blacksmiths at three portable forges set to work to repair wagons, shoe horses, etc., preparatory to encountering the harder roads of the mountains; and by the time the ferrying was completed the camp was in condition to resume its journey.

Arriving on the Oregon trail, for the Pioneers, was like coming back into the world again after a temporary absence-like renewing social relations that had been severed. The first item of news they received from the outside world was conveyed to their camp on the evening of its arrival opposite Fort Laramie. This was by two brethren Robert Crow and Geo. Therlkill, from what is known in our annals as the "Mississippi Company of Saints,"³ which had wintered at Pueblo two hundred and fifty miles south of Fort Laramie, with the several detachments of the Mormon Battalion that had been invalided and sent there for the winter. Part of this Mississippi Company—seven wagons and seventeen people, chiefly the Crow and Therlkill families—had been at Fort Laramie for two weeks, anxiously waiting the arrival of the first company of Saints from Winter Quarters with whom they expected to cross the mountains. The rest of the Mississippi Company were with the detachments of the Battalion at Pueblo and would start for Fort Laramie about the first of June, expecting to follow the Pioneer trail into the mountains; the Battalion detachment, of course, then expecting to go

2. As a matter of fact this "fort" was never completed, "having one side open towards the river." It was erected by Sabille Adams and Co. See Bancroft's Hist. of Wyoming, p. 685.

3. The Mississippi Company of Saints were converts chiefly from Monroe County, Mississippi, who under instruction from President Young had left their homes in the South, to take up the journey westward. For the history of this company, see note 2 end of chapter.

on to California, as per their orders.⁴ The Mississippi brethren could give information of the detachments of the Battalion at Pueblo, of the four deaths that had occurred, but nothing of the main part of the Battalion except its departure from Santa Fe.

The next day Amasa M. Lyman, Thomas Woolsey, Raswell Stevens and J. H. Tipets were designated as a party to go to meet the detachments of the Battalion and the remainder of the Mississippi company of Saints and hasten their journey to Fort Laramie, in order to follow the Pioneers into the mountains. This party of four men departed on their mission about mid-day of the 3rd of June, not without anxious solicitude on the part of the camp for their safety, as it was a dangerous mission owing to hostile bands of Indians on their route.

At Fort Laramie the Pioneers learned of the immense emigration en route from the Eastern states to Oregon and California that year. While the Pioneers were still at the Fort a party of four men arrived from St. Joseph, Missouri, having made the journey in seventeen days. They had passed 2,000 wagons in detached companies enroute for the west, and some of the advanced companies would reach Fort Laramie within a day or two.⁵

The first and second day out from Fort Laramie the Pioneers were in contact with two companies of Oregon emigrants, one of which they overtook, consisting of eleven wagons; and one which overtook them, consisting of twenty-one wagons.⁶ On the 8th of June they met a small number of wagons loaded with

4. Woodruff's Journal entry for June 1st. Also Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, p. 91. The names of the Mississippi detachment were as follows:

Robert Crow,	Ira Minda Almarene Crow,
Elizabeth Crow,	George W. Therlkill,
Benjamin B. Crow,	Maltilda J. Therlkill,
Harriet Crow,	Milton Howard Therlkill,
Elizabeth J. Crow,	Jas. Wm. Therlkill,
Jno. McHenry Crow,	Archibald Little,
Walter H. Crow,	James Chesney.
Wm. Parker Crow,	Lewis B. Myers,
Isa Vinda Exene Crow.	(Fifty Years ago today, June 4, 1897).

This company had a splendid outfit, strong, fresh mule teams, four to a wagon, and good wagons. John Brown gives the number of wagons as six. Brown's Journal for 1847, p. 63).

5. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for June 3rd, 1847. These emigrants were represented to be from Missouri, Iowa and Illinois. See Erastus Snow's Journal of same date.

6. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for 5th and 6th of June. Erastus Snow gives the number in the 2nd company as 19 wagons. Journal entry 6th of June.

peltries, traveling east from the west side of the Rocky Mountains—from Fort Bridger. The company—nine in all—was led by Jas. H. Grieve—"from whom we learned," says Brigham Young," that Mr. Bridger was located 300 miles west, that the mountaineers could ride from Bridger to Salt Lake in two days, and that the Utah country was beautiful."

Grieve also told the Pioneers of a boat made of buffalo skins his party had concealed at the crossing of the north Fork of the Platte, near the mouth of the Sweet Water, and gave the Pioneer company permission to use it. A company of about forty men and nineteen wagons was sent forward as an advanced detachment to secure the Grieve boat, build a raft, kill game, and make all preparations for ferrying the whole company over the river.⁸

On the 9th of June the Pioneers were overtaken by a pack train of from fifteen to twenty horses with a small party of men enroute for San Francisco Bay, *via* of the Great Salt Lake.

The Pioneers were now passing over the most pleasant part of their journey. Writing of the camp at Deer Creek, half a mile back from the right bank of the Platte, Erastus Snow says:

"This is the most delightful place we have seen since we left the states,—a large creek of clear water with a stony bottom, and the way our boys are hauling out the fish is not so slow. Excellent feed, thrifty timber, plenty of game, beautiful scenery; and, added to this, one of our miners had discovered a very excellent bed of bituminous coal up the creek, a sample of which he has brought into camp; also a quarry of excellent sandstone. I have been agreeably surprised in the country of the Black Hills, over which we have traveled a distance of ninety miles from Fort Laramie. Instead of sand and continual barrenness, without water, as I had expected, we have found hard roads through the hills, and at convenient distances beautiful creeks skirted with timber, and bottoms covered with grass, though

7. History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk 3, p. 93. Wilford Woodruff says: "We visited the traders and got some information from the Salt Lake country which was flattering: good account was given of it." Journal, entry 8th of June.

8. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 2, p. 92. In this incident I follow the text of Young's History. Woodruff's Journal gives the number of wagons in the detached company as fifteen; Snow at "about twenty," entries for 9th of June.

9. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for June 9th. These "Packers" seem to have given out different stories as to where they were from and whither bound, hence there are different accounts of them in the journals of the Pioneers.

the country otherwise presents generally a rough and barren appearance."¹⁰

On the 12th of June the main company of the Pioneers arrived at the Platte ferry, to find that their advanced company was employed in ferrying over the Oregon emigrants, carrying their goods over in the "Revenue Cutter"—their leather boat,¹¹ floating over the empty wagons by means of ropes; but the stream was so swift and deep that the wagons would roll over several times *in transit* in spite of all efforts to prevent it. Ordinarily the Platte was fordable at this point, but this was the season of high water. The brethren received for ferrying over the Oregon emigrants "1,295 lbs. of flour, at the rate of two and a half cents per pound; also meal, beans, soap and honey at corresponding prices, likewise two cows, total bill for ferrying \$78.00."¹²

The ferriage price agreed upon was from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per wagon, paid in the articles and at the prices named above. "As flour was readily worth \$10 per cwt. at that point, it was a good bargain" is one comment-non-Mormon, however;¹³ "We received it as the providence of God in getting the supplies we needed," is what Erastus Snow said of it.¹⁴

The Pioneer company remained five days at the Platte crossing. They made various experiments in ferrying over their wagons, first stretching a rope across the stream and trying to float single empty wagons over attached to the aforesaid over-stream rope, and drawn by other ropes; but the current, deep and swift, rolled them over and over as if they were logs, much to the injury of the wagons. Then the experiment was made of fastening from two to four wagons together to prevent capsizing *in transit*, but the mad stream would roll them over in spite of all the ingenuity and care of the men. Then small rafts were tried with a single wagon, but the difficulty of polling a raft in water

10. Journal, entry 10th June; *Improvement Era*, Vol. XV., p. 165.

11. This boat was capable of carrying from 1,500 to 1,800 lbs. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for 12th of June.

12. Hist. Brigham Young, Bk. 3, p. 94. "It looked as much of a miracle to me," says Wilford Woodruff, "to see our flour and meal bags replenished in the midst of the Black Hills, as it did to have the children of Israel fed on manna in the wilderness." Journal, entry for 13th of June.

13. "Fifty Years Ago To-day," June 12, 1897.

14. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 13th of June.



The Pioneer Route—Winter Quarters—to Salt Lake Valley, 1847

so deep and swift was so great that frequently they would be swept down from one to two miles, though the stream was not more than from forty to fifty rods wide.¹⁵ The plan that proved the most successful was to use a raft,—of which two were made—constructed with oars, well manned, with which a landing with a single wagon could be effected in about half a mile. In this way wagons even partly loaded could be ferried over, but most of the goods of the camp were carried across in the leather boat—the “Revenue Cutter.”

Meantime a company of the pioneers had been at work on the construction of a large ferry boat capable of carrying over loaded wagons for the use of the large companies of Saints about now starting from the Elk Horn,¹⁶ besides companies of Oregon emigrants were daily arriving, and very willing to pay from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per wagon to be ferried over; so that the prospect was that the ferry would be very profitable to those who would establish it. Accordingly a company of ten men—one of whom was a blacksmith—under the leadership of Thomas Grover was left in charge of the ferry, and the main company continued its journey. Their course now followed up the Sweet Water River, which they forded back and forth several times—to the South Pass, along the Oregon route. They were in frequent contact with companies of Oregon emigrants, and occasionally met companies of traders, trappers and mountaineers moving eastward. Near the South Pass, for instance, at which the company arrived on the 26th of June, they met a number of men from the Oregon settlements, led to this point by one Major Moses Harris, who had been a mountaineer for twenty or twenty-five years. He had extensive knowledge of the country from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. “We obtained much information from him in relation to the great, interior basin of the Salt Lake,” says Orson Pratt, “the country of our destination. His report like that of Captain Fremont’s is rather unfavorable to the formation of a colony in this basin, principally on account of the scarcity of timber. He said that he had traveled the whole cir-

15. Erastus Snow’s Journal, entry 13th of June.

16. From that point, between the 18th of June and the latter part of that month, 560 wagons started for the west, bringing with them 1,553 souls. These companies had 2,213 oxen, 124 horses, 887 cows, many of which had to do service under the yoke; 358 sheep, 716 chickens, and a number of pigs. (Whitney’s Hist. of Utah, Vol. I, p. 188), also Hist. Brigham Young, Ms. Bk. 3, p. 94.

cumference of the lake, and there was no outlet to it.”¹⁸ Harris had with him “some Oregon News papers; also [copies of the] *California Star*, published by Samuel Brannan,¹⁹ the leader of the Brooklyn Colony of Saints to California.

It was at this encampment also, called by some “Pacific Springs”—“fourteen miles from the last crossing of the Sweet Water”—that the Pioneers met a somewhat noted mountain character in the person of Thomas L. Smith who had a trading post on Bear River, in the neighborhood of Soda Springs. He described Bear Lake, Cache, and Marsh Vallies, all of which he had visited in the course of his trapping and trading expeditions. “He earnestly advised us,” says Erastus Snow, “to direct our course northwestward from Bridger, and make our way into Cache Valley; and he so far made an impression upon the camp, that we were induced to enter into an engagement with him to meet us at a certain time and place some two weeks afterwards to pilot our company into that country. But for some reason, which to this day has never to my knowledge been explained, he failed to meet us; and I have ever recognized his failure to do it as a providence of the Allwise God. The impressions of the Spirit signified that we should bear rather to the south of west from Bridger than to the north of west.”²⁰

On the 28th of June the Pioneers met James Bridger, Mountaineer and guide, also a member of the American Fur Company. Himself and two companies were enroute for Fort Laramie. He expressed a desire for a conference with President Young and the Twelve; they were equally anxious to have an interview with him. An early encampment was accordingly made and the mountaineers invited to spend the night with the camp.²¹ Mr. Bridger “being a man of extensive acquaintance with this interior country,” says Orson Pratt, “we made many

17. “Myself and several others came on in advance of the camp (i. e. to the South Pass), and it was with great difficulty that we could determine the dividing point of land which separates the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Pacific. . . . The South Pass for some 15 or 20 miles in length and breadth is a gently undulating plain or prairie thickly covered with wild sage from one to two feet high. . . . The elevation above the sea level is 7,085 feet. The distance of this pass from Fort Laramie, as measured by our mile machine, is 275 1-2 miles. Orson Pratt’s Journal entry 26th of June.

18. Orson Pratt’s Journal, entry for 26th of June.

19. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, entry for June 27th, 1847.

20. Utah Pioneers, pp. 44-5. See also note 3 end of chapter.

21. Woodruff’s Journal, entry for 28th of June.

inquiries of him in relation to the 'Great Basin' and the country south. His information was rather more favorable than that of Major Harris."²² "Mr. Bridger . . . camped with us and gave us much information relative to roads, streams, and country generally."²³ "Bridger considered it imprudent to bring a large population into the Great Basin," says President Young," "until it was ascertained that grain could be raised; he said he would give \$1,000 for a bushel of corn raised in that Basin.²⁴ President Young replied: "Wait a little, and we will show you."²⁵

At Green River, which the Pioneers reached on the 30th of June, Samuel Brannan, leader of the Brooklyn Colony rode into their camp, direct from San Francisco. He and two companions had made the journey *via* of Fort Hall. He brought news from the Colony of Brooklyn Saints now settling in the San Joaquin Valley; of the Battalion which had reached the Pacific coast; of the founding of the *California Star*, a file of sixteen numbers of which he had brought with him; of the richness of California's soil; of her salubrious climate; of the conquest of the country by the United States; and of the Brooklyn colony's anticipation of the arrival of the Pioneers on the Pacific coast doomed, however, to disappointment. The reception given to Brannan was

22. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for 28th of June.

23. Erastus Snow's Journal entry 28th of June. Also Woodruff's Journal to the same effect.

24. History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, p. 95. Erastus Snow in his great reminiscent Discourse on the "Utah Pioneers" (p. 43) delivered in Salt Lake City, July 25th, 1880, said Bridger's offer was "for the first ear of corn raised in the valley of the Great Salt Lake or the valley of the Utah outlet," meaning Utah Lake Valley, some 30 miles south of Salt Lake. Snow in his discourse spoke extemporaneously and from memory. There is a sense in which Bridger's offer of \$1,000 for a bushel of corn raised in the Salt Lake Valley can be understood other than regarding it as an expression of belief in the impossibility of the thing, *viz.*, an expression of hope that it might be done—a reward for a desired demonstration of the thing. Wilford Woodruff's Journal account of the interview with Bridger would warrant such a view. He says: "He (Bridger) spoke more highly of the Great Basin for a settlement than Major Harris did; that it was his *paradise*, and if this people [i. e. the Saints] settled in it, he wanted to settle with them. There was but one thing that could operate against it becoming a great grain country, and that would be the frost. He did not know but the frost would kill the corn" (Journal, entry for 28th of June)—he would give a \$1,000 to have a demonstration that this was not so, as Salt Lake Valley, "his paradise," would then be known as a desirable place for settlement. Bridger was evidently tiring of his isolated, half-outcast life, and desired to settle with white people, proven by the fact of his purchase of a farm less than ten years later at Westport, Missouri, and his attempt to settle down to a regular life. (Bancroft's Hist. Wyoming, p. 685, note).

25. Erastus Snow in Utah Pioneers, p. 43.

evidently not very cordial. There was recollection of course of the contract he had made with ex-Postmaster General of the United States, Amos Kendall, "A. G. Benson & Co.," which, if carried into effect, would have loaded the material progress of the Saints with intolerable burdens. It was in vain that he urged the advantage of the Pacific slope as a place of settlement for the Saints,²⁶ though he remained, and was identified with the activities of the Pioneers, until their movements indicated permanent settlement in what he regarded as a barren waste.

At Green River ferry the Pioneers remained until the 3rd of July, detained by the necessity of making rafts with which to effect the crossing of that stream as its waters were high. The camp moved three miles from the ferry down the right bank and there spent the fourth of July—"Independence Day," some of them noted in their Journals,²⁷ also "the Lord's Day." At this encampment it was decided that a few of the Pioneers should return eastward to meet the large emigrating companies of saints now enroute from Winter Quarters, and act as their guides to Green River. Five volunteered,²⁸ taking with them the "Revenue Cutter"—wagon, as it constituted a sort of light wagon and there were not horses enough to spare to mount the "pilots," as the returning company was called. Brigham Young with Dr. Willard Richards, Heber C. Kimball and others accompanied this party back to Green River ferry. Here they saw a group of thirteen horsemen on the opposite bank with their baggage stacked on one of the Pioneer rafts preparatory to crossing over the river. It was soon learned that the party was an advanced

26. Brannan had made a brave march of more than 800 miles to confer with the Church leaders, and that with only two companions. Orson Pratt thus describes that journey: "He left the Bay of San Francisco on the 4th of April last, expressly to meet us, accompanied by only two persons; and, having at this early season of the year braved the dangers of the deep snows upon the mountains, and the wild and savage tribes of Indians that roam over these terrific regions, he arrived in safety at our camp; having also passed directly over the camping ground where about 40 or 50 California emigrants had perished, and been eaten up by their fellow-sufferers only a few days before. Their skulls, bones, and carcasses lay strewn in every direction. He also met the hindmost one of these unfortunate creatures making his way into the settlements. He was a German, and had lived upon human flesh for several weeks." The party that perished as described above was the ill fated Donner Party, of which more later.

27. Journal of Wilford Woodruff, entry for 4th of July.

28. Their names were Phineas H. Young, Geo. Woodward, Aaron Farr, Eric Clines and Rodney Badger.

company of Captain James Brown's Pueblo detachment of the Mormon Battalion, and they were given three cheers. "I led out," says President Young, "in exclaiming 'Hosannah! Hosannah! Give glory to God and the Lamb, Amen!' In which all joined simultaneously."²⁹ The members of the Battalion were conducted to the camp where also they were received with great rejoicing. They were in pursuit of horse thieves who had stolen about a dozen of the Battalion horses of which they had recovered all but one or two, and they understood that these were at Fort Bridger to which place they were enroute. They reported the Pueblo detachment as not more than seven days drive east of the Green River.

It was decided by the council at this Green River encampment, after the arrival of the party of Battalion members, "that Thomas S. Williams, and Samuel Brannan return and meet Captain Brown and the Battalion company from Pueblo;" and in as much as they have neither received their discharge nor their full pay, Brother Brannan shall tender them his services as pilot to conduct them to California."³⁰ Brannan and Williams, however, did not leave the Pioneer camp on their mission until the 9th of July,³¹ by which time the camp had arrived at Fort Bridger. This trading post was located on a delta formed by several branches of Black's Fork of Green River. "The Post" says Orson Pratt, "consists of two adjoining log-houses, dirt roofs, and a small picket yard of logs set in the ground and about eight feet high. The number of men, squaws and half breed children in these houses and [surrounding] lodges, may be about fifty or sixty."³²

At this point the Pioneer company left the Oregon road, "taking Mr. Hasting's new route to the Bay of San Francisco," journalizes Orson Pratt; "this route is but dimly seen as only a few wagons passed over it last season,"³³ "We took a blind

29. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, p. 97.

30. History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, p. 97. Thomas S. Williams, named in the above quotation, was Sargent Williams of Company D. in the original Battalion organization, and was the officer in command of the company of 13 which had overtaken the Pioneers. Journal of John Brown, 1847, p. 67.

31. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for the 9th of July.

32. Ibid, entry of 7th of June. The "post" was founded in 1842 by its then—1847—present owners and was abandoned in 1853. Bancroft's Hist. of Wyoming, p. 684.

33. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for 9th of June.



Crastus Snow

trail," is Erastus Snow's account of the departure from Fort Bridger; "the general course of which is a little south of west, leading in the direction of the southern extremity of the Salt Lake, which is the region we wish to explore. Fortunately for us a party of emigrants bound for the coast of California passed this way last fall, though their trail is in many places, scarcely discernable."³⁴

On the 10 of July the Pioneers came to a small tributary of Bear River, less than two miles from the main stream. The next day being Sunday, the camp rested, as usual. Here they met Miles Goodyear and a small company from the Bay of San Francisco on their way home to the states. They had come *via* of the Weber and what was afterwards called Echo canon, to this point. The party numbering four, was under the leadership of a Mr. Craig. Goodyear had acted as their guide from his trading station, sometimes referred to as his "farm"³⁵ at the mouth of the Weber River. In addition to acting as guide to the Craig party Goodyear had intended to meet the Oregon emigration, with whom he hoped to do some trading. Learning from the Pioneers that the Oregon emigration had taken the northern route, he decided to go down Bear River and intercept their line of travel, while the Craig party pursued its journey eastward.

Before leaving the Pioneer camp, Mr. Goodyear had considerable conversation with various members of the Pioneer company; but respecting Salt Lake Valley as a promising place for a settlement "He too," says Erastus Snow, "was unable to give us any hope; on the contrary, he told us of hard frosts, cold climate, [that it was] difficult to produce grain and vegetables in any of this mountain region. The same answer was given to

34. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 9th of June.

35. His effort at farming consisted in fencing a small patch of land on the banks of the Weber, in 1846, "and [he] had tried the experiment of sewing grain and vegetables in a small way;" in which, however, he was not very successful. (See Erastus Snow's Discourse, Utah Pioneers, p. 45). In Fifty Years Ago To-day, Goodyear's "farm" is erroneously located "in the Bear River Valley;" and he is credited with being "the Pioneer farmer in Utah." See Fifty Years Ago To-day July 11th, 1897. Goodyear came to the west from Iowa, with the Whitman-Spalding missionary party in the spring of 1836. He was then a lad of sixteen, and traveled with the missionaries in the capacity of a servant to Fort Wyeth, on Snake River where he left the missionaries to join a fur hunting expedition; and so drifted into the business of Indian trader and mountain guide. (See Bancroft's Hist. of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 127).

him as to Mr. Bridger, 'give us time and we will show you.'"³⁶

From the arrival of the camp at Green River, various members had suffered from what they called "mountain fever." At the camp on Bear River President Young himself was severely stricken with the malady. The main encampment moved westward, but eight wagons and a number of leading brethren remained at Bear River with the President, expecting to follow in a few hours. Closing his journal entry for the day's march, Orson Pratt rather sadly says—"Mr. Young did not overtake us to-night." His next day's entry in the journal begins—"Early this morning we dispatched two messengers back to meet Mr. Young, being unwilling to move any farther until he should come up." These messengers were Joseph Mathews and John Brown.³⁷ They found President Young had been too ill to move, but was improving. Heber C. Kimball returned to the main encampment with the two messengers. Many were sick with the fever at the main encampment, and it was thought advisable to stop over for a few days and send forward a company in advance to mark out the road more clearly. "Those of the Twelve present," says Orson, Pratt "directed me to take 23 wagons and 42 men, and proceed on the journey and endeavor to find Mr. Reed's route across the mountain, for we had been informed that it would be impracticable to pass through the canon [i. e. the Weber canon] on account of the depth and rapidity of the water."³⁸ This doubtless was Goodyear's report, for we had just conducted the Craig party through Weber canon. Here it is necessary to say a word on the routes over which pack companies and companies with wagons had passed into Salt Lake Valley. The Bartleson route down Bear River

36. Woodruff speaking of the meeting with Goodyear said: "He has settled at Salt Lake, has a garden and vegetation of all kinds, he says doing well. He spoke of three roads to Salt Lake." Journal Ms. entry for 10th of July. The three roads referred to were (1) the road *via* Bridger, down Bear River *via* of Soda Springs, Cache valley and so to the north end of Salt Lake, Capt. Bartleson's route, 1841, also the route of Fremont to Salt Lake 1843 (See this History, chapter LXIX, note 2, Emigration to Oregon 1836-1847): (2) the route *via* of Weber Canon, down which Hastings had led two companies with wagons: (3) the Donner-Reed route which led up Ogden's Fork of Weber River, or Canon Creek, down Emigration canon, to the south end of the Salt Lake where it again picked up Hasting's new road.

37. Brown's Journal, 1847, Ms., p. 67.

38. Pratt's Journal, entry for the 13th of July. See also note 4 end of this chapter on Pratt's appointment to the leadership of this "Advanced Party," and for the names of the party see note 5, end of chapter.

via of Soda Springs through Cache Valley, is sufficiently described in foot note 34, of chapter LXIX, and in note 2 at the end of that chapter. Of the other two, the one down Weber canon, and the other up Ogden's Fork or Canon Creek, over the passes at the head of it, and down Emigration canon to the south end of the lake, more should be said.

In 1845 Lansford W. Hastings, who first went to Oregon in 1842, thence to California, became an enthusiast on the Americanization of the Pacific coast, especially of California; and at Cincinnati in 1845 published "The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon." Describing the most direct route to California, he said:

"The most direct route would be to leave the Oregon route about two hundred miles east from Fort Hall; thence bearing w. s. w. to the Salt Lake; and thence continuing down to the Bay of St. Francisco."³⁹

In the spring and early summer of 1846 Hastings traversed this route eastward from California, and met the Oregon-California emigrants at Bridger and induced two companies, known as the Young and Harlan companies to accept his leadership and take this "cut off."⁴⁰ His associate, Hudspeth, led a train of packers known as the Bryant party, over the same route:⁴¹ that is, from Bridger *via* of Echo Canon, Weber canon, the south end of Salt Lake, to California. It is said, however, that the Bryant company "left letters advising others with families and wagons not to attempt it [i. e. their route]—letters which are said "not to have been delivered."⁴²

The Young and Harlan companies guided by Hastings in person "had much difficulty in finding a way for their wagons, lost much of their live stock in the Salt Lake desert, but at last reached the old route and were the last to cross the Sierra"⁴³—that is for the season of 1846.

The Donner party on reaching Bridger also determined to take "the Hastings cut off;" and left Bridger on the 28th of July, 1846, only a few days behind the Young and Harlan companies led by Hastings. Before reaching Weber canon, how-

39. Hist. Cal. Bancroft, Vol. IV, p. 399.

40. Hist. Val. Bancroft, Vol. V, pp. 528-9 and foot notes.

41. Ibid, p. 530.

42. Hist. Cal. Bancroft, Vol. V, pp. 529-30.

43. Ibid.

ever, they received a letter from Hastings "advising a change of route to avoid obstacles encountered by the other company in Weber canon."⁴⁴ A Mr. James F. Reed⁴⁵ of the Donner party—and by some accounted the real head of the party,—with two companions were sent to overtake the advanced companies, obtain additional information and explore the route. It is said that Reed and his companions overtook Hastings and his companies at Black Rock at the south end of Salt Lake and about twelve miles directly west of the present site of Salt Lake City.⁴⁶ After consultation had with Hastings, Reed and his companions returned to their encampment at the head of Weber canon. Their march to overtake Hastings and their explorations had occupied a week's time.⁴⁷

From what they regarded as the head of Weber Canon the Donner-Reed party turned southward, going up the stream which Orson Pratt a year later named Canon Creek. They crossed over the hills to avoid the deep gorge or canon through which this creek passes, calling it "Reed's Pass;" thence via of Big and Little Mountain down Emigration canon into Salt Lake Valley, where they picked up Hastings road around the south end of the lake. The whole of August had been consumed in making the journey from the head of Weber canon to the "open country on the lake shore."⁴⁸

The Donner-Reed party numbered 87 persons; 36 being men, 21 women, 30 children, five of the latter being infants; 49 of the whole number belonged to four families, Donner, Graves, Breen, and Murphy.⁴⁹ How many wagons were in the camp is no where

44. Hist. Cal. Bancroft, Vol. V, p. 531.

45. "Reid" in Mormon Pioneer Journals, but Reed in Bancroft's works.

46. Whitney's Hist. of Utah, Vol. I, p. 296.

47. Hist. Cal. Bancroft, Vol. V, p. 531.

48. Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 531.

49. It is reported in some of our Mormon annals that the Donner Party was from Missouri; but that is not borne out by the facts. Its composition as to the states whence its members started from was as follows:

Twenty-nine were from Springfield, Illinois, and constituted the original Donner-Reed Party—"Reed being the most prominent member of it."

Thirteen were from Marshall county, Ill.

Ten from Keokuk, Iowa.

Thirteen from Tennessee.

Four from Belleville, Ill.

Three from Jackson Co., Mo., and one other, Luke Halloran, was from Missouri.

Four were Germans, a family, who had been in America but two years.

stated, so far as I can learn; but since the party, in the main, was made up of well-to-do people, and therefore "well enough provided with the necessary outfit"; and especially was it so with George Donner—from whom the party takes its name—who "was a man of some wealth, and was carrying a stock of merchandize to California for sale"⁵⁰—it is probable, I say from these circumstances, that the camp had even more than the usual number of wagons with which such companies traveled. From eighteen to twenty-five wagons would certainly be a conservative estimate for a company having in it thirty-six men, with 51 women and children, and carrying a stock of goods to California for sale.

This was the party that was caught by the snows in the high passes of the Sierras along the Truckee River and at Lake Tahoe; and which suffered so terribly before relief could reach them. Thirty-nine of the 87 perished, a number of them becoming the victims of the cannibalism of those who survived; and whose remains were strewn about the shores of Lake Tahoe when Samuel Brannan passed that point enroute for the Pioneer Camp; and whose remains—such as could be found at the time—were buried by General Kearney's party, when passing the lake in June, 1847, enroute for the east. Twelve of Kearney's party, it will be remembered, were members of the Mormon Battalion.⁵¹ The work of burial was "completed in September by the returning Mormons of the Battalion."⁵²

Ten from various parts of the United States, two of them being of the Spanish race. (See Bancroft's notes, (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, pp. 530-1 where the names of the Donner party, as well as whence they started for the west, are given). It appears from the above that only four of the 87 were from Missouri.

50. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 531.

51. See this History, chapter LXVI, footnote 41.

52. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 543. "There was nothing remarkable in the composition of the [Donner] company," says Bancroft, "which included rich and poor; American, Irish and German; Protestant, Catholic and Mormon" (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 531). The "Mormons" were represented by the family of a Mrs. Lovenia Murphy, a widow with three sons and two daughters, one of whom, Harriet, was married to Wm. M. Pike. "Mrs. Murphy had lived at Nauvoo and later at Warsaw," according to Bancroft, "accepting an engagement to cook and wash for the emigrants with a view to reach with her children the ultimate destination of the Saints" (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 531, note). She was among those who perished in the mountains. Sargent Tyler of the Mormon Battalion saw one of the daughters of Mrs. Murphy—Mary—who had meantime married a Mr. Johnson, in California—and from her learned the story condensed by Bancroft. Tyler credits "Sister Murphy" with good motives, but thinks she made a mistake in leaving the Saints to go with this party. (Tyler's Mormon Battalion, p. 312). Tyler gives the name

We may now return to the march of the Pioneers. Orson Pratt's company of 23 wagons and 42 men, known in our records as "Pratt's Advance Party," was sent, as we have seen by his own statement, "to find Mr. Reed's route across the mountains." Elder Pratt's company started on the morning of the 14th of July, following what was called the "Red Fork" of Weber River, the creek running down Echo canon.⁵³ It was followed thirteen miles to its junction with the Weber River. On the 15th the Advance party continued down the Weber, "and encamped about one mile above the canon, which at the entrance is impassable for wagons. The road [Hasting's] crossing the river to the right bank makes a circuit of about two miles, and enters the canon at the junction of a stream putting in from the right bank."⁵⁴ Orson Pratt and John Brown rode five miles down Weber canon until convinced that it was the "ten mile canon" they had heard of and which the Donner Party had been warned against taking by Hastings. Meantime other parties from Pratt's camp, led by Stephen Markham, had followed up the stream on the right bank of the Weber in search of Reed's trail. "Mr. Brown and I also went in search," says Orson Pratt, "traveling along the bluffs on the south. We soon struck the trail, although so dimly seen that it only now and then could be discerned, only a few wagons having passed here one year ago, and the grass having grown up, leaving scarcely a trace."⁵⁵

The next day word was sent back that Reed's route had been

as Murry. Wilford Woodruff, who baptized Mrs. Murphy, while on his mission in Tennessee, says she apostatized and joined the mob (see Journal 1847, entry for 10th July), by which he means no more, perhaps, than that she lived among those who were mobbing the saints in Illinois.

53. Our journey down "Red Fork," says the leader of the "Advance Party," has truly been very interesting and exceedingly picturesque. We have been shut up in a narrow valley from ten to twenty rods wide, while upon each side the hills rise very abruptly from 800 to 1200 feet, and for most of the distance we have been walled in by vertical and overhanging precipices of red pudding-stone, and also red sandstone dipping to the north-west in an angle of about 20 degrees. . . . The country is very mountainous in every direction." Orson Pratt's Journal entry for the 14th July.

54. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for the 15th of July; and John Brown's Journal 1847, p. 68. "Brother Pratt and myself, who acted as pilots and pioneers of the camp, went down and examined the canon, but did not find it practicable."

55. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for 15th of July, John Brown's journal, 1847, p. 68. After describing the examination of the road down Weber canon, Brown adds: "We then examined the other pass to the south, through which a small company of California emigrants passed the year before, but we could scarcely see their trail."

found, "which we had anticipated would be troublesome to find," says Orson Pratt.

The journey was resumed, following Reed's route up a small stream, a company of about a dozen men going in advance of the wagons with spades, axes, etc., "to make the road passable which required considerable labor."⁵⁶ The camp moved about eight and a half miles during the day, their road in the last two miles of the journey leaving the small stream up which they had traveled to cross a ridge into another ravine in which they camped. They spent some four hours in labor with picks and spades on the latter part of the road. After an encampment was made, Orson Pratt and a Mr. Newman went further down the road to examine it. "We found that Mr. Reed's company last season," journalizes Orson Pratt, "had spent several hours labor in spading, etc., but finding it almost impracticable for wagons they had turned up a ravine, at the mouth of which we had camped, and taken a little more circuitous route over the hills." On the morning of the 17th after examining the road over which they had passed the day before for some distance back, and satisfying himself that no more practical route could be found, Elder Pratt directed that the camp spend several hours labor on the road over which they had already passed before resuming their march. Meantime he and John Brown rode on a head to explore the road they were following. A little over three miles brought them again to what Orson Pratt had called Canon Creek,⁵⁷ and Brown "Big Canon Creek."⁵⁸ "We followed the dimly traced wagon tracts up this stream for eight

56. Pratt's Journal, 16th of July.

57. "This creek passes through a canon about 40 rods below, where it is for a few rods shut up by perpendicular and overhanging walls, being a break in a mountain, which rises several hundred feet upon each side. The creek plunges underneath a large rock which lay in its bed, near the foot of the canon, blockading the same and making it wholly impassable for wagons or teams."—Pratt's Journal, entry for 17th July. It was this mountain gorge which Reed, the year before, found it necessary to go round, hence "the circuitous route over the hills," back to the canon's creek again followed by Pratt and Brown as described in the text.

58. July 16, we sent a messenger back to the main camp to report progress and bring us word from our brethren. On the 17th moved over to Big Canon Creek." Erastus Snow who was with the main part of the camp says when reaching this point "We . . . struck a large creek, which proved to be a branch of the Weber River, which Elder Pratt named Canon Creek, from the fact of its entering a tremendous, impassable canon just below where the road strikes it, and also winds its way between these mountain cliffs and empties into the river between upper and lower canons on that stream." Journal entry 19th of July.

miles," writes Orson Pratt in his journal, "crossing the same thirteen times. The bottoms of this creek are thickly covered with willows from 5 to 15 rods wide, making an immense labor in cutting a road through for the emigrants of last season. We still found the road almost unpassable and requiring much labor. The mountains upon each side rise abruptly from 600 to 3000 feet above the bed of the stream. Leaving our horses at the foot, we ascended to the summit of one which appeared to be about 2,000 feet high. We had a prospect limited in most directions by still higher peaks: the country exhibited a broken succession of hills piled on hills, and mountains in every direction."⁵⁹

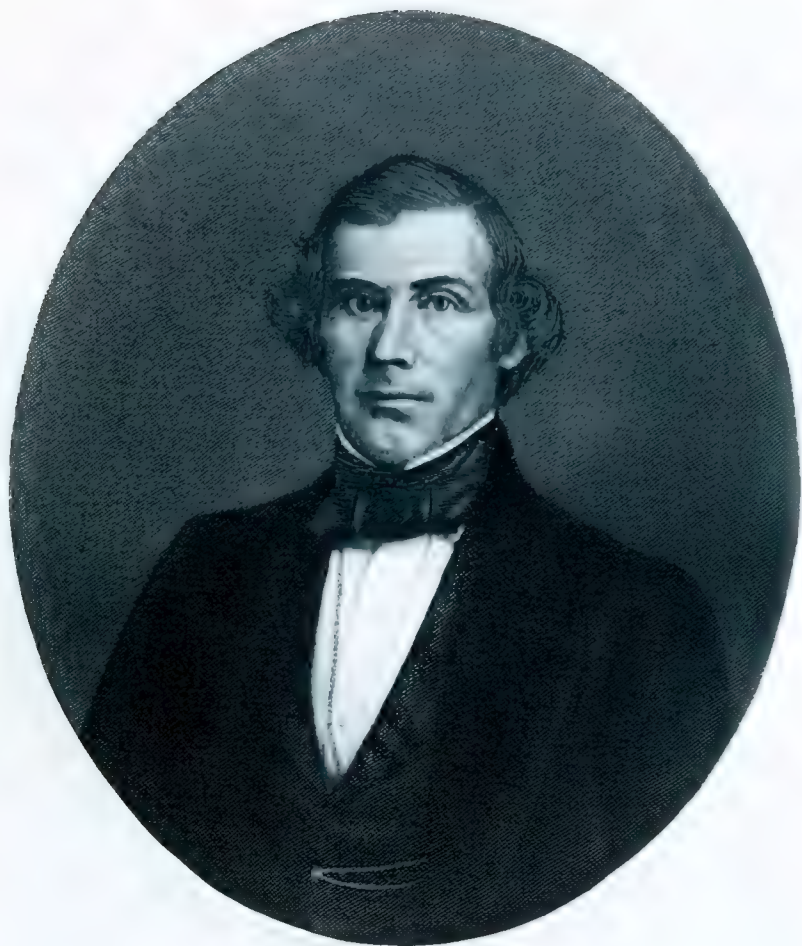
Having spent two-thirds of the day in working on the road passed over on the 16th, for the benefit of the main part of the camp following them, Pratt's camp had moved but four and a half miles from their encampment of the night before.

The 18th of July being Sunday, as usual, camp was not broken, and religious services were held in the morning. The latitude was ascertained to be 40 deg. 54 min. 7 sec.; "A luna observation was taken for the longitude," says Orson Pratt, "I also obtained an observation of the altitude of the moon for the time."⁶⁰

Soon after sunrise of the 19th the two pioneers of this advance company, Orson Pratt and John Brown, started along the route of last year's emigrants to examine the road and country ahead. They continued along the road over which they had passed the day before and ascertained that it left Canon Creek near the point where they had turned back to camp, and followed a ravine running west. This they ascended for four miles when they came to a dividing ridge from which they "could see over a great extent of country." Here they tied their horses and on foot ascended a mountain on the right for several hundred feet. "On the south west we could see an extensive level prairie, some few miles distant which we thought must be near

59. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for 17th of July. Also Brown: "We . . . ascended a high mountain on the left of the road; we could see nothing but mountains except a beautiful park which lay up the Creek." Journal 1847, p. 69.

60. Journal entry for 18th of July.



Orson Pratt

the lake.”⁶¹ It was; and this is the first view any of the Pioneers had of Salt Lake Valley. Returning to their horses the two pioneers went down the south west side of the mountain, the descent of which was very rapid. The small stream they were following “passed through a very high mountain,” where they judged it impossible for wagons to pass. They found too that near the point they had reached the wagon trail made the year before “ascended quite abruptly,” and “passed over a mountain and down into another narrow valley, and thus avoided the canon.”⁶² From this point the two pioneers returned to find their camp which had moved forward six and a quarter miles from their position in the morning. Also to learn that the main Pioneer encampment had nearly overtaken them.

Before beginning the day’s journey on the 20th, Orson Pratt wrote a description of the road and country he had reconnoitered the day before, and deposited it in a conspicuous place for the benefit of the main camp soon expected to pass that point. The camp moved but six miles over the mountains, working the road enroute.

On the 21st Pratt’s advance company resumed its journey, made five miles and camped for noon, having passed over Little Mountain, descending on the west side until they came upon a swift running creek to which they gave the name of “Last Creek,” later called Emigration Creek, since it runs down Emigration Canon.

The main camp of the Pioneers reached Orson Pratt’s camping place of the 19th, on the 20th; and there they found Pratt’s description of the road; “on Perusal of which,” writes Eras-

61. Pratt’s Journal entry for 19 July. Brown says: writing of the events of the 19th: “We went a head as usual to explore the route. Went as far as the top of the Big Mountain. Here we had a view of the valley for the first (time). We went on to the mountain to the right and saw what we supposed to be one corner of the lake, which intelligence we carried back to the camp causing all to rejoice.” Journal 1847, p. 69.

62. Pratt’s Journal entry for the 19th of July. Erastus Snow’s description of the pass is worthy of a permanent place in the history of this Pioneer Journey: “The pass over the summit was narrow, peaks of the mountain rising on each side for three-fourths of a mile. This pass is the only notch or opening of the mountains known in this region of the country that is at all practicable for a road, except through the canyon down the bed of the Weber River, which is very rough, and passable only in the lowest stages of water, and scarcely passable for wagons up the stream at any stage. From the summit of the pass, for the first time, I got a sight of the valley of the Utah outlet, (i. e. valley of the Jordan) extending from the Utah to the Salt Lake.” Pratt registers the altitude of the pass to be 7,245 feet above the sea.

tus Snow, "Elders [Willard] Richards and [Geo. A.] Smith determined on sending me with a letter to overtake Elder Pratt, and accompany him to the valley and assist in exploring and searching out a suitable place for putting in our seed." Accordingly on the morning of the 21st, Erastus Snow, mounted, rode alone over Pratt's route of the day before and overtook him on the afternoon of the 21st. Leaving the camp to proceed with their task of improving the road down Emigration Canon, Elders Pratt and Snow proceeded down the canon "four and a half miles," where the creek passes through a small canon "and issues into the broad valley below." "To avoid the canon the wagons last season," says Orson Pratt, "had passed over an exceedingly steep and dangerous hill:"⁶³

"Mr. Snow and myself ascended this hill, from the top of which a broad open valley, about 20 miles wide and 30 long, lay stretched out before us, at the north end of which the broad waters of the Great Salt Lake glistened in the sunbeams, containing high mountainous Islands from 25 to 30 miles in extent. After issuing from the mountains among which we had been shut up for many days, and beholding in a moment such an extensive scenery open before us, we could not refrain from a shout of joy which almost involuntarily escaped from our lips the moment this grand and lovely scenery was within our view."⁶⁴

The two pioneers descended the butte at the mouth of the canon, and proceeded over the gentle declivity of the east slopes of the valley to a point on one of the several streams that enter from the east range of mountains, where tall canes were growing, "which looked like waving grain." The course they had followed bore a little south westward, and on reaching the stream—since called Mill Creek⁶⁵—on the banks of which the canes grew—they remembered that the instructions of President

63. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for July 20th.

64. Pratt's Journal, entry for 21st of July. Of this view of the valley obtained from near the mouth of Emigration Canon Erastus Snow says: "From the view we had of the valley from the top of the mountain we supposed it to be only an arm of prairie extending up from the Utah Valley, but on ascending this butte we involuntarily both at the same instant, uttered a shout of joy at finding it to be the very place of our destination, and beheld the broad bosom of the Salt Lake spreading itself before us." Journal entry for 21st July.

65. Erastus Snow, Utah Pioneer, p. 46.

Young had been to turn to the north on emerging from the valley and there plant their seeds.⁶⁶ Accordingly they turned northward from the point they had reached and came to what was called afterwards and is now City Creek—on both sides of which Salt Lake city soon afterwards began to rise. It was a hot day that 21st of July when those two pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley. On the 23rd Orson Pratt reports the thermometer as standing at 96 degrees. It must have been about the same on the 21st. The two Pioneers had but one horse between them, so that they walked and rode by turns. A few miles from the mouth of the canon Erastus Snow discovered he had lost his coat, having taking it off and thrown it loosely before him on the saddle from which it had slipped to the ground. This occasioned his return over their trail to find it, and meanwhile Orson Pratt walked northward alone until he arrived at the beautiful crystal stream that issued from the ravine leading down from the distant pine clad mountains to the north east; and thus became the first of the Pioneers to stand upon the present site of Salt Lake City.⁶⁶

His companion rejoining him on Emigration Creek a few miles below where it issues from the canon of the same name, they returned to their encampment about nine o'clock at night, having made a circuit of some ten or twelve miles in the valley. Their camp, meantime, had moved forward from their noon encampment about three miles, while the main encampment had come up within a mile and a half of Pratt's Advance Company.

66. The fact that President Young thus directed the movements of the Advance Company of Pioneers is beyond question. Following is extracted from John Brown's Journal, for 1847, p. 69, *Ms.* Writing of the incidents of the 19th of July, and speaking of his own and Elder Pratt's return from Big Mountain, he says: "Our messenger [O. P. Rockwell sent to President Young's camp on the 16th to report the progress of the Advance company] had returned to us and brought word that the President was better. He had started the main camp on, and was still stopping with a few wagons to rest a little longer, *telling the brethren when they got into the valley to turn a little north and put in their seed of all kinds, a small quantity of each to try the soil.*" And so Erastus Snow, in describing the advent of Orson Pratt and himself into Salt Lake valley, he says: "We could see the canes down in the valley on what is now called Mill Creek, south of the lower grist mill, which looked like grain: and thither we directed our course. But when we reached it and ascertained what it really was, and remembering the last injunction of President Young, we turned Northward and crossed Mill Creek on to City Creek [present site of Salt Lake City], which appeared to us the point of our destination as indicated by the President." (*Utah Pioneers*, p. 46).

66. *Life and Labors of Orson Pratt*, by his son, Milando Pratt, 1891, *The Contributor*, Vol. XII, p. 188.

The following morning a party of nine, headed this time by Orson Pratt and Geo. A. Smith, the latter from the main encampment of the Pioneers, rode out into the valley to explore it, directing the remainder of the camp to proceed with the road making down into the valley.

Arriving at the little canon at the entrance of the valley, Pratt's exploring party concluded that by cutting a way the thick timber and underbrush, together with some digging a better and safer road could be made than the one leading over the steep and dangerous hill passed over by the company of emigrants of the previous year. A note calling the attention of the working camp to this fact was left in a conspicuous place, and the explorers moved on. "For three or four miles north," writes Orson Pratt, "we found the soil of a most excellent quality. Streams from the mountains and springs were very abundant, the water excellent, and generally with gravel bottoms. A very great variety of green grass, and very luxuriant, covered the bottoms for miles where the soil was sufficiently damp, but in other places, although the soil was good, yet the grass had nearly dried up for want of moisture. We found the drier places swarming with very large crickets, about the size of a man's thumb.⁶⁷ This valley is surrounded with mountains, except on the north: the tops of some of the highest being covered with snow. Every one or two miles streams were emptying into it from the mountains on the east, many of which were sufficiently large to carry mills and other machinery. As we proceeded towards the Salt Lake the soil began to assume a more sterile appearance, being probably at some seasons of the year overflowed with water. We found as we proceeded on, great numbers of hot springs issuing from or near the base of the mountains. These springs were highly impregnated with Salt and sulphur: the temperature of some was nearly raised to the boiling point. We traveled for about 15 miles down after coming into the valley, the latter part of the distance the soil being unfit for agricultural purposes. We returned and found our wagons en-

67. An ominous presence this, in view of events to be recounted later; but at the time their presence was first noticed, there was no premonition that these, black, ugly crickets would become a terror to the settlers—a menace to their very existence.

camped in the valley, about 5 miles from where they left the kan-yon.'⁶⁸

But this encampment was made on the stream first visited by Elders Pratt and Snow, since called Mill Creek, and President Young's directions to turn northward after emerging into the valley influenced this main encampment as it had done Elders Pratt and Snow the day before, and accordingly in the forenoon of the 23rd, the camp moved between three and four miles north to the banks of City Creek. At that time the stream divided into two branches just below the present Temple Block, in Salt Lake City, one branch reunning west and the other turning south. It was on the south branch of the creek that the main Pioneer encampment was formed at noon on the 23rd of July. The camp was called together and, as was most fitting, the noble Pioneer who had piloted the way so much of the distance in the journey, and especially over the last and most difficult stages of it, and as was his right by virtue of being the senior Apostle present, Orson Pratt led in prayer—a prayer of thanksgiving and of dedication: “thanksgiving in behalf of our company,” writes the Apostle who prayed—“*all of whom had been preserved from the Missouri River to this point;*” and then the dedication of themselves and the land unto the Lord “and imploring his blessings” upon it.⁶⁹ After this there was re-enacted the scenes of organized industry we have witnessed at Mt. Pisgah and Garden Grove in Iowa, and at the founding of Winter Quarters—men divided into groups—some to clear the land preparatory to plowing; others to unpack and get ready the plows; others to care for the stock and perfect the camp arrangements. At the first attempt at plowing the ground was found hard and dry, and several plows were broken in the

68. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for the 22nd July. John Brown who was one of the company of nine who made this detour into the valley agrees in all the essentials reported by Pratt (See Journal 1847, *Ms.*, pp. 69-70. Ditto Erastus Snow, Journal entry for 23rd July.

69. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for 23rd of July. Erastus Snow says: “At noon on the 23rd we made our camp on City Creek, below Emigration Street, or the street where the street railroad runs east from the Clift House, and just below that on the old channel of the creek; the creek divided just below this Temple Block, one branch running west and the other south. It was on the south branch of the creek we formed our camp on the noon of the 23rd; and here we bowed ourselves down in humble prayer to Almighty God with hearts full of thanksgiving to Him, and dedicated this land unto Him for the dwelling place of His People.”

70. Erastus Snow in “Utah Pioneers,” p. 46.

effort.⁷⁰ A company was set at work to put a dam in the creek and flood the land—the beginning of Mormon and Utah irrigation, to be worked out later into scientific systems to bring to pass the redemption of arid and semi-arid regions of America and of the world. Several acres were plowed that afternoon, and towards evening the valley was visited by a light thunder shower.⁷¹

Here I return to bring up the last division of the Pioneer Company. A half day's drive from the Sunday encampment of the 11th of July, made on the 12th, found Brigham Young so stricken with fever that it was impossible for him to go further, so that here occurred the first division of the camp, by reason of the main body going on six and a half miles for its night encampment, and eight wagons remaining with Brigham Young. The later division by the detachment of Pratt's Advance Company from the main camp, the march of both divisions, and their reunion just upon entering the Salt Lake Valley is already detailed.

Brigham Young remained at the noon encampment formed on the 12th until the 15th, when the small number of wagons that made up the last division of the camp, with the sick leader on a bed made up in Wilford Woodruff's carriage—came up to the main encampment and together in the afternoon moved some distance into Echo canon. On the 16th the drive through Echo canon was made. The canon received its name, as will be supposed by the reader, because of the wonderful reverberation of sounds that are produced in the tortuous windings of the canon's perpendicular walls, and among the crags and peaks rising above them. The report of a rifle, the crack of a whip, the shouts of the teamsters at the ox teams straining at their yokes, the lowing of cows, the rumble of the wagons over rough roads—these sounds were picked up and repeated, echoed and re-echoed, from point to point as if every particular crag or angle of the canon had a magic tongue to mock the new sounds made by man's entrance into these solitudes.

At the juncture of the creek running through Echo canon with

71. Pratt's Journal entry for 23rd of July. There was not enough rain however, to lay the dust, and at three o'clock the thermometer stood at 96 degrees.

the Weber, reached early on the 17th, it was found that President Young's condition was such that he could not travel further and camp was made. The members of the Twelve with this division of the camp retired and held prayer in temple order for President Young and the rest of the sick in camp.⁷² The 18th being the "Lord's Day," religious services were held; the sacrament of the Lord's supper administered, and special prayer made in the camp for the recovery of President Young and the sick generally. They had an excellent meeting says the chronicler, "The Holy Spirit was upon us, and faith seemed to spring up in every bosom. In the afternoon the President, who had been nigh unto death, was sensibly better, and the effects of the prayers of the brethren were visible throughout the camp."⁷³

On the 19th this part of the camp divided again, about forty wagons moving on over Pratt's route, and fifteen staying with President Young, who, though some better, was not able to renew the journey. He remained in this encampment on the Weber until the 20th, when fifteen miles were made, and encampment made on Canon Creek,⁷⁴ where three other wagons with sick men had camped. Here this company remained over until the 21st, both on account of the sick and to repair wagons that had been damaged by the roughness of the roads. On the 22nd this rear division of the camp made but four miles, which Elder Woodruff declares to be the worst four miles of the journey. The next day 23rd of July, President Young passed over Big Mountain and from its summit he had a view of part of Salt Lake Valley. His account of the incident is as follows:

"July 23rd: I ascended and crossed over the Big Mountain,

72. Woodruff Journal entry for 17th of July.

73. Erastus Snow Journal, entry for 18th of July.

74. From the Journal of Wilford Woodruff it is learned that this "Canon Creek," so named by Orson Pratt for reason previously given, was known as "Ogden's Fork," doubtless because of some connection of Peter Skeen Ogden with this region, as trapper and Indian trader; and the road over the hills to avoid the passage through the canon was called "Reed's Pass," after James F. Reed of the Donner company who passed over the route the year before. The passage in Woodruff's Journal is as follows: "Brothers Kimball, Benson and Lorenzo Young, went through the canon of Ogden's Fork, which is the name of the creek we camped on (Canon Creek). The route we are taking is "Reed's Pass," which we have named "Pratt's Pass" in consequence of his going on to make the road. (Journal *Ms.* entry for July 21st). Then in his Journal entry for 22nd he remarks: "We traveled four miles today on East Canon Creek, where the "Pratt Pass" leaves the Fork for good and turns to the West." *Ibid.*

when on its summit I directed Elder Woodruff, who had kindly tendered me the use of his carriage, to turn the same half way round, so that I could have a view of a portion of Salt Lake Valley. The Spirit of Light rested upon me, and hovered over the valley, and I felt that there the Saints would find protection and safety. We descended and encamped at the foot of the Little Mountain.”⁷⁵

The last stage of President Young’s great Pioneer journey was made on the 24th of July, from his camp at Little Mountain down into and through Emigration Canon, and out into the valley of the great Salt Lake. It was about two o’clock in the afternoon when he and all the rear of the Pioneer company arrived at the “City Creek” encampment. There appears to have been no special demonstration in the camp upon the arrival of the great leader of the western movement of his people; if there was, all the journals are silent upon the subject. President Young’s own narrative of the day’s events is very simple:

“*July 24th*: I started early this morning and after crossing Emigration Canyon Creek eighteen times, emerged from the canyon. Encamped with the main body at 2 p. m. About noon, the five-acre potato patch was plowed, when the brethren commenced planting their seed potatoes. At five, a light shower accompanied by thunder and a stiff breeze.”⁷⁶

So closes the account of the great Pioneer Journey from Winter Quarters, on the banks of the Missouri, to the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

NOTE 1. HISTORY OF FORT LARAMIE: Fort Laramie was erected in 1834, by William Sublette and Robert Campbell. It was for a time called Fort William after Sublette. It was established with the design of monopolizing the trade of the Indian tribes from the Missouri on the north east to the Sweet Water on the

75. History of Brigham Young, *Ms. Bk. 3*, entry for July 23rd. Wilford relates a similar incident as occurring at the mouth of Emigration Canon and on the 24th. His statement is as follows: “When we came out of the canon into full view of the valley, I turned the side of my carriage around, open to the west, and President Young arose from his bed and took a survey of the country. While gazing on the scene before us, he was enraptured in vision for several minutes. He had seen the valley before in vision, and upon this occasion he saw the future glory of Zion and of Israel, as they would be, planted in the valleys of these mountains. When the vision, had passed, he said: “It is enough. This is the right place, drive on.” Utah Pioneers, p. 23.

76. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms. 3*. Journal entry for the 24th of July, 1847. For Wilford Woodruff’s journal account of President Young’s and his own entrance into Salt Lake Valley, see note 6, end of chapter.

west of the Black Hills. In 1835 it was sold to Milton Sublette, James Bridger and three other fur hunters, who had hunted with the American Fur Company. The Fort was rebuilt in 1836 by the new owners at an outlay of \$10,000; and for a time was called "Fort John," but gradually became permanently known as Fort Laramie. It continued to be a fort of the American Fur Co., until 1849, when it was sold to the U. S. government and for many years was an important post in the Indian wars of the west. (Condensed from Bancroft's Hist. of Wyoming, pp. 583-4).

NOTE 2. THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY OF SAINTS: The Mississippi company of saints originally consisted of fourteen families from Monroe county, Mississippi, who under the leadership of William Crosby and John Brown left their homes April 8th, 1846, for the west, expecting to fall in with some of the first camps of the Saints enroute from Nauvoo to the Rocky Mountains. This company arrived at Independence, Mo., in the latter part of May where they were joined by Robert Crow and family from Perry county, Illinois, and William Kartchner, members of the Church, and a small company of emigrants enroute for Oregon. The united companies had in all twenty-five wagons, and organized for the western journey by choosing William Crosby Captain, with Robert Crow and John Holladay counselors. It was not until they had reached the Indian country on the south bank of the Platte that the party for Oregon learned that they were traveling with a party of "Mormons." They soon after discovered that their Mormon friends were not traveling fast enough for them and so parted company and went on ahead. They numbered fourteen men, and six wagons. The Mississippi company with the Illinois addition numbered twenty-four men with nineteen wagons. This latter company followed up the south bank of the Platte to within a few miles of Fort Laramie, where not being able to obtain any definite information concerning the advanced companies of the Saints from Nauvoo, they resolved to go no further west that fall, but to seek a suitable location on the east side of the mountains at which to winter, and meantime learn something definite as to the movements of the main body of the church. At their last encampment on the Platte they met a Mr. John Kershaw who suggested that the head waters of the Arkansas River would be the best place at which they could winter as corn was being raised there and it was near the Spanish country where supplies could be had. This was also the destination of Mr. Kershaw who was traveling with two ox teams and was acquainted with the route, accordingly on the 10th of July they left the Oregon route and started south and finally reached Pueblo on the 7th of August, where

the company went into winter quarters, having made a journey from the initial point in Mississippi of about 1,600.

At Pueblo the Mississippi Saints learned that the main body of the church had halted for the winter on the Missouri, and that five hundred of their men had gone into the army of the U. S. and were enroute for California.

The camp of saints at Pueblo was organized into a branch of the church, and then eight men of their number, including the captain of the camp, William Crosby, and John Brown, on the 1st of September, start on the return journey to Monroe county, Mississippi, to bring out their families to join in the western movement of the church in the spring.

The returning party of Mississippi brethren arrived at their homes on the 29th of October, and began preparations to move their families to Council Bluffs. While so engaged messengers arrived from Brigham Young that they leave their families another year in their old homes, but that they fit out and send all the men that could be spared to go west as pioneers. Accordingly a small company of men, including four colored "men servants," were fitted out with two wagons, and under the leadership of John Brown were conducted to Council Bluffs, where, after a trying journey in which two of the colored men died, they arrived a few days before the Pioneer company left winter quarters. Five of the party led by John Brown joined the Pioneer company, viz. himself, Mathew Ivory, David Powell,⁷⁷ and the two remaining colored servants, Hark Lay and Oscar Crosby. Hence when the Pioneer company at Fort Laramie on the 1st of June, 1847, met part of the Mississippi company of saints as stated in the text, it was a happy reunion of long separated fragments of the Mississippi Company of saints.

The account here given of the Mississippi company of saints is condensed from the Journal of Elder John Brown. Valuable extracts from that Journal will be found in the Improvement Era for July, 1910, compiled by his son John Z. Brown.

NOTE 3. THE MEETING OF THE PIONEERS WITH THOMAS L. SMITH: This Thomas L. Smith is known to fame in the Mountain trapper lore as "Peg-leg Smith." He was in Jedediah S. Smith's Expedition to California in 1826, but is generally represented as a disreputable character (See Bancroft's Hist. of Utah, p. 23 and note; also Linn's Story of the Mormons 386). Linn sarcastically refers to this circumstance of meeting with Thomas L. Smith and the arrangements entered into with him for examining the valleys he had spoken of, as an incident "which narrowly escaped changing the plans of the Lord, if he had already selected Salt Lake Valley" ("Story of the Mormons," p. 385); a remark which discloses the spirit of Linn's

work. It has been established in these pages beyond question that the destination of the Saints, even before leaving Nauvoo, (and even before Joseph Smith's death) was known to be somewhere within in the "valleys of the Rocky Mountains" (See ch. LXIII); but no one ventured to designate any particular spot or valley as the exact place at which settlement would begin. And it was lack of knowledge as to this exact spot or place at which beginning a settlement would be made that was the cause of such expressions as implied doubt as to the destination of the Saints. Following are examples of such expressions: "They . . . [the Saints] had started out desertward, for—where? To this question the only response at that time was, 'God Knows'" (Eliza R. tinue to travel the way the Spirit of the Lord should direct us" (Erastus Snow in *Utah Pioneers*, p. 44).

NOTE 4. ORSON PRATT, PIONEER OF THE PIONEER COMPANY: The appointment of Orson Pratt to the leadership of the special party that was to become the pioneer party of the Pioneers in the last stages of their journey, is one that came about by a natural force operating among men, by which men that are fit rise to their proper place. Orson Pratt was appointed to this leadership because in the things now required—engineering skill and science—he had been leading all along. His place was always in the van, and even leading that van, and this from the very nature of the duties required of him, as being placed in charge of and using, the splendid set of scientific instruments carried in the camp—and which he alone, perhaps, could use. Hence it will be found both in his own journal and in the journals of others that he is always in the lead, and consulted with reference to all the engineering problems that confronted the Pioneers on their journey. (See Pratt's journal in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, *passim*; for being on lead at important points, see pp. 18, 146, 162). Of the Pioneer journey resembling in some respects a scientific expedition I have already spoken in the text of chapter LXIX of this History, and of Elder Pratt's ascertaining, and registering the latitude, longitude, altitude, geological structure, together with notices of the *flora* and *fauna* of the country through which the Pioneer route passed. Also in the matter of the construction of the Pioneer Odometer it is quite probable that the scientific principles on which it was constructed were largely furnished by him. The following entry in his journal for the 6th of May, would justify such a conclusion:

77. This name is recorded Powers in the list of Pioneers, but in the Journal of John Brown it is several times recorded Powell, see Brown's Journal for 1847, pp. 54, 56.

“For several days past, Mr. Clayton, and several others, have been thinking upon the best method of attaching some machinery to a wagon, to indicate the number of miles daily travelled, I was requested this forenoon, by Mr. B. Young, to give this subject some attention; accordingly, this afternoon, I proposed the following method: Let a wagon wheel be of such a circumference, that 360 revolutions make one mile. (It happens that one of the requisite dimensions is now in camp). Let this wheel act upon a screw, in such a manner, that six revolutions of the wagon wheel shall give the screw one revolution. Let the threads of this screw act upon a wheel of sixty cogs, which shall evidently perform one revolution per mile. Let this wheel of sixty cogs, be the head of another screw, acting upon another wheel of thirty cogs, it is evident that in the movements of this second wheel, each cog will represent one mile. Now, if the cogs were numbered from 0 to 30, the number of miles traveled will be indicated during every part of the day. Let every sixth cog, of the first wheel, be numbered from 0 to 10, and this division will indicate the fractional part of a mile, or tenths; while if any one should be desirous to ascertain still smaller divisional fractions, each cog between this division, will give five and one-third rods. This machinery (which may be called the double endless screw) will be simple in its construction, and of very small bulk, requiring scarcely any sensible additional power, and the knowledge obtained respecting distances in traveling, will certainly be very satisfactory to every traveller, especially in a country but little known. The weight of this machinery need not exceed three pounds.”

At the time of his pioneering the way into Salt Lake valley in July, 1847, Orson Pratt was thirty-six years of age, of only medium height, spare-built, but hard and sinewy, capable of great physical endurance, intense and long mental application. Tireless energy was his, and absolute devotion to assigned duty; simple faith mingled with large and absolute trust in God marked the outlines of the character in this Mormon Pioneer—this apostle of Jesus Christ in the New Dispensation of the Gospel.

NOTE 5. ROSTER OF ORSON PRATT'S "ADVANCE COMPANY." Following are the names of the forty-two men who made up Pratt's Advance Company:

Orson Pratt (commanding), Stephen Markham (aid), John Brown, C. D. Barnum, Charles Burk, Francis Boggs, A. P. Chessley, Oscar Crosby (colored), Lyman Curtis, James Chessney, Walter Crow, John Crow, Robert Crow, Walter H. Crow, Benjamin B. Crow, John S. Eldrege, Joseph Egbert, Nathaniel

Fairbanks, John S. Freeman, Green Flake (colored), John S. Gleason, David Grant, Hans G. Hansen, Levi Jackman, Stephen Kelsey, Levi N. Kendall, Hark Lay, Joseph Mathews, Elijah Newman, David Power, Lewis B. Myers, O. P. Rockwell, Jackson Redding, Shadrach Roundy, James W. Stewart, Gilbroid Summe, Horace Thornton, Marcus B. Thorpe, George W. Therlkill, Norman Taylor, Seth Taft, Robert Thomas.

NOTE 6. ERASTUS SNOW: This Pioneer was in his 28th year when with Orson Pratt he entered Salt Lake Valley on the 21st of July, 1847. He had been sent forward from the main encampment expressly to join Elder Pratt and assist him in the selection of a place for settlement. Accordingly Elder Pratt took him for his companion on the last day of the necessary advance exploration of the route to be traveled by the main company. Erastus Snow was then a young man of marked judgment and ability, as witnessed by the fact of his being sent forward from the main encampment to assist the Captain of the Advanced Company of the Pioneers in selecting a place of settlement. Less than two years later he was ordained one of the Twelve Apostles of the New Dispensation, and throughout his long life was a most faithful and devoted servant of God, prominent in all the activities of the Church both in foreign lands and in the organized Stakes of Zion. He was preeminently successful as a Pioneer, and after Brigham Young easily the most active and prominent in the founding of settlements in the inter-mountain West. We shall have occasion to speak frequently of his work in the progress of this History. Here, however, it is proper to say that the Church of Jesus Christ in the New Dispensation has developed no more saintly or manly character than Erastus Snow; neither has the Church had a more devoted servant than he was; nor the Lord Jesus Christ a more faithful Apostle. He died on the 27th of May, 1888.

NOTE 7. THE ARRIVAL OF BRIGHAM YOUNG IN SALT LAKE VALLEY: (The complete entry in Wilford Woodruff's Journal for July 24th, 1847).

"July 24, 1847: This is an important day in the History of my life and the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. On this important day, after traveling from our encampment six miles through the deep ravine-valley ending with the canon through the Last Creek, we came in full view of the great valley or basin [of the] Salt Lake and the land of promise held in reserve by the hand of God for a resting place for the Saints upon which a portion of the Zion of God will be built. We gazed with wonder and admiration upon the vast, rich, fertile valley which lay for about twenty-five miles in length

and 16 miles inwidth, clothed with the heaviest garb of green vegetation in the midst of which lay a large lake of Salt Water of — miles in extent, in which could be seen large islands and mountains towering towards the clouds; also a glorious valley abounding with the best fresh water springs, riverlets, creeks, brooks and rivers of various sizes all of which gave animation to the sporting trout and other fish, while the waters were wending their way into the great Salt Lake. Our hearts were surely made glad after a hard journey—from Winter Quarters—of 1200 miles through flats of Platte River and steepes of the Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains, and burning sands of the eternal sage region, and willow swales and rocky cannons and stumps and stones—to gaze upon a valley of such vast extent entirely surrounded with a perfect chain of ever lasting hills and mountains, covered with eternal snows, with their innumerable peaks like pyramids towering towards heaven, presenting at one view the grandest and most sublime scenery that could be obtained on the globe. Thoughts of pleasing meditation ran in rapid succession through our minds while we contemplated that not many years hence and that the House of God would stand upon the top of the mountains while the vallies would be converted into orchards, vineyards, gardings and fields by the inhabitants of Zion, the standard be unfurled for the nations to gather thereto.

President Young expressed his full satisfaction in the appearance of the valley as a resting place for the Saints, and was amply repaid for his journey. After gazing awhile upon the scenery we travelled across the table lands into the valley four miles to the encampment of our brethren who had arrived two days before us. They had pitched their encampment upon the bank of two small streams of pure water and had commenced plowing and had broke about five acres of ground and commenced planting potatoes. As soon as we were located in the encampment, before I took my dinner, having one-half bushels of potatoes I repaired to the plowed field and planted my potatoes, hoping with the blessings of God at least to save the seed for another year. The brethren had dammed up one of the creeks and dug a trench, and by night nearly the whole ground was irrigated with water. We found the ground very dry. Towards evening, in company with Brothers Kimball, Smith and Benson, I rode several miles up the creek into the mountains to look for timber and see the country, etc. There was a thunder shower and it extended nearly over the whole valley, also it rained some the fore-part of the night, we felt thankful for this as it was the general opinion that it did not rain in the valley during the summer time.”

The Henry Family

BY W. H. HENRY

THE Colonial ancestry of the Henry family in America dates from the early part of the 18th century and traces back to Henry, an abbott, in the 13th century in Scotland (as recorded in Ragmann's Roll). They were originally a Norman race and later Scotch Coventers, who suffering from persecution, fled from Ayrshire, Scotland, in the 17th century, first accompanying, in 1615, Sir James Hamilton to the Ulster plantation in the north of Ireland upon land ceded to him by King James. Settling principally in and around Colerain. The faith of the Henry family was Presbyterian, the Scotch Irish Henrys holding congregations in the north of Ireland from 1674 to 1788, were notably

4 Roberts	1674 to 1743
2 Samuels	1695
1 Hugh	1711
1 George	1743
4 Williams	1753 to 1791
1 Michael	1742
1 Alexander	1774
1 Thomas	1786
3 Henry Henry's	1788

Early in the 18th century, being oppressed by the English Government, and endowed with a spirit of liberty, many members of the Henry family sought homes and freedom in the American Colonies. Fathers, sons, uncles, cousins and nephews joined the tide of Scotch-Irish immigration to the Colonies, especially from 1722 to 1765.

Hugh Henry, the uncle of Hugh Henry, the colonist of 1765, presided over congregations in 1722 along the New England coast.

Pennsylvania and New England were the objective points, where many of their descendants are living in 1912.

The Continental Muster Rolls of the War for American Independence, especially those of New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia, record a great number of the family of Henry, all Scotch-Irish.

Patrick Henry, of Virginia, was of Virginian-American birth, 1735. But his father was a member of the Henry family and came from Ayrshire, as did also Joseph Henry, the distinguished electrician, etc.

Hugh Henry, the writer's colonial ancestor was a patriot of the American Revolution, living in Philadelphia in 1765. (Ten years prior to the war for American Independence). His open hostility to the British Government and his family connection with Patrick Henry of Virginia, made him such a marked figure in Philadelphia in 1777 that he went to Lancaster (the then seat of Government while Philadelphia was occupied by the British), whereupon he took the following oath, the original copy of which the writer has now in his possession:

"I do hereby certify that HUGH HENRY has voluntarily taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance and fidelity as directed by an Act of General Assembly of Pennsylvania passed the 13th day of June, A. D. 1777.

Witness my hand and seal the 21st day of September Anno Domini 1777.

JACOB SHOEMAKER. (L. S.)

Lancaster—Printed by Francis Bailey."

Hugh Henry was the great-grandfather of the writer. His grandfather was John Henry, who is of record as holding lands in Colerain from the Hamilton Estate in 1681. He had a son, John Henry, who was a famous merchant of Colerain, who had married into the Hamilton family, the colonial issue of which was Hugh Henry, the founder of my branch of the Henry family

in America in 1765. The estimation in which he was held in Colerain as a youth is attested by the following certificate of character tendered him on the eve of his departure for the Colonies:

“We the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Corporation of Colerain in the County of Londonderry and Kingdom of Ireland

Do hereby certify that the bearer HUGH HENRY, son of John Henry late of the town of Colerain aforesaid, merchant, deceased, was born in and bred up in said town, and always behaved himself very honestly, soberly and inoffensively. And, he having lately thought proper to go to AMERICA to push his fortune, requesteth this our certificate in testimony whereof we have set our hands and Dominick Heyland, Esq., the present Mayor of the said Corporation has affixed his seal of office of Mayor this fifth day of October, One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty-five 1765.

Dominick Heyland	Mayor
Richard Heyland	Alderman
Richard Jackson	“
John Thompson	“
Rob’t Church	“
Will Kinkeed	“
Andrew Ferguson	“
Robert Gage	“
Alex M. Kashan.	“

With this precious document and all his worldly possessions, accompanied by his widowed sister, Mrs. Robt. Dunkin, and her infant daughter, Ann Dunkin (who in 1815 married John Saunders Van Rennselaer of Albany, New York), he left Londonderry October 22, 1765, on the packet ship “Jupiter” commanded by his uncle Capt. Hamilton, arriving at Philadelphia, Dec. 9, 1765. His father, John Henry, the merchant, was associated in business with Gawan Hamilton, the possessor of the lease of the Great Bann lands lying along the river Bann from

Lough Neagh to Colerain, engaged in carrying the products of the lands, fishing and other commodities of Colerain to Glasgow. They were also owners of three merchant ships engaged in visiting northern sea ports and Dublin with wines and effects and carrying some of the tide of emigration to the American Colonies.

Hugh Henry's mother was Ann Hamilton, daughter of Gadson Hamilton, Esq., of Colerain. (Duke Hamilton family).

It is of record that in 1767 Hugh Henry was an elder in the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, and it is of further record of that same church that on the 4th day of May, 1769, Phoebe Morris, daughter of a Philadelphia Quaker named Robert Morris, was married to Hugh Henry. He was the father of Robert Morris (afterwards the financier of the American Revolution). The financier was also married in 1769 into the Church of England and his sister to Hugh Henry into the Presbyterian faith, which at that time caused much dissension and a very strong feeling on the part of the Quakers. ,

The issue of the marriage, as taken from the records of the First Presbyterian in Philadelphia where the children were also christened and of which Hugh Henry was an Elder, and in 1793 he appears on record as subscribing Sixty Pounds toward rebuilding the church, was

Robert born Aug. 5, 1770

Isaac born Dec. 3, 1771

John born July 30, 1774

Samuel Robert Dunkin June 8, 1778

William Hamilton Feb. 1, 1781

This old church was widely known through its pastors Rev. Dr. Wilson and Rev. Albert Barnes.

Only two of Hugh Henry's sons left issue: Dr. Isaac Henry, U. S. Navy, married Judith Carter of Virginia. His portrait by St. Memin is now in the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington. He was a surgeon on the Frigate "Constitution." His commission, in 1812, was from President Adams. The family homestead, where his descendants live today, was destroyed in

the Battle of Bull Run, and his widow, Judith Carter, aged 90 years, was killed in the battle. Her remains are buried there today with a monument above descriptive of her virtues.

William Hamilton, my grandfather ("Squire" Henry of Bucks Co.) married one of the most talented and beautiful women of her day in 1811; Eliza Ann Neal of Philadelphia. She was a great granddaughter of a Mr. Armat. Her portrait by "Sully" is one of his best productions. One of their issue was my father, Morris Henry (deceased) of Philadelphia, a journalist and an old '49 California explorer. My grandfather, William Hamilton Henry, born 1781, graduated from Pennsylvania University in 1798. The original parchment is now in my possession.

William Hamilton Henry, born 1845, and writer of this sketch, was an only son of Morris Henry, and is well known for the past fifty years as a newspaper man, being connected with the New York Herald under the elder Bennet and present owner from 1860 to 1884 in various capacities from office boy to superintendent of the paper, since that date and at present engaged in newspaper work. He has an interesting family of six boys and two girls and ten grandchildren and is a member in good standing as one of the original founders of the Empire State Society Sons of the American Revolution, graded No. 37. Also member for many years of Holland Lodge, No. 8, F. & A. M. of the City of New York (one of the oldest American lodges of Masons in America).

It may be interesting to note for the benefit of people in the United States (in 1912) by name of Henry particularly those with a desire to trace some of their ancestry, that according to the U. S. census of 1790 the Henry family in America only numbered 322 heads of families. The average size was five each, they were of English, Scotch and Irish ancestry, only 88 heads of the family spelt their name "Henry," the other 234 heads of families misspelt it in various ways. Such as Henary, Henerey, Heneries, Henery, Hennary, Henneries, Hennery, Henrey, Henri. The English, Scotch and Irish formed 82 per cent. of the entire population of the thirteen colonies and the heads of the Henry family were scattered and widely separated, 109 being in Pennsylvania, 39 in North Carolina, 34 in New York, 29 in Mas-

sachusetts, 27 in South Carolina, 26 in Maryland, 15 in Virginia, 16 in Connecticut, 13 in New Hampshire, 6 in Vermont, 4 in Maine and 4 in Rhode Island.

The Christian family names predominating were John, Samuel, Michael, Christian, William, John Joseph, Richard, Peter, Robert, Lawrence, James, Abraham, Hugh, Godfrey, Andrew, Alexander, Jacob, Philip, Thomas, Frederick, George, Adam, Matthias.

Mackenzies—Colonial families, America. Mattheus—American Armory—Blue Book. Burkes—Prominent families, America. Give “Henry” family.

Arms—Azure a fesse between 3 Pelicans. Argent Vulned—p p r.

Crest—A Pelican’s head—erased.

Motto—Fideliter.

Submitted by

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Historic Views and Reviews

TO DIVIDE TEXAS

THOUSANDS of citizens in West Texas are reviving the question of dividing the State and making it two, or even three States. West Texans point out that conditions there are so different from some other parts of Texas that a division is reasonable. Climate is different, products are different, industries are different, needs are different, they assert, and advocates of the project point out that Texas is of such immense size that the division would not hurt the State.

The division still would leave two or three big States, either of which would be larger than all New England. There are several counties in West Texas, including Pecos, El Paso, Brewster and Presidio, that are as large as Massachusetts, but which have very few inhabitants.

The city of El Paso, a progressive town of forty thousand, to all intents and customs, is more in New Mexico than Texas. El Paso merchants go after the New Mexican trade, and the newspapers give more space to New Mexico news than Texas news.

It is pointed out that El Paso, Abilene or Amarillo would make good capitals of a new Western State.

Development is the biggest problem West Texas faces. To encourage greater expansion and growth citizens in this territory declared that new laws regarding trade, railroads, schools and other matters are needed to apply to this section alone. Laws which are lenient, in order to bring in more people and stimulate building and industry, are needed, it is claimed.

As it is, part of Texas, east and south Texas, was inhabited by the Spanish in the fourteenth century. East Texas had a history before West Texas was even thought of. West Texas was

the land of the Indian, buffalo and cowboy and is accounted part of the Big West, while East Texas is credited with being a Southern State, inhabited by a Southern people.

Texas and Texarkana to El Paso is more than eight hundred miles across, and from Texline, way up in the Panhandle, to Brownsville, way down to the Mexican line on the Gulf coast, the distance is more than one thousand miles.



COLUMBUS MONUMENT UNVEILED

At the threshold of the capital of the greatest nation born in the hemisphere discovered four centuries and two decades ago a memorial to Christopher Columbus was unveiled in Washington, D. C., on June 8. Facing the majestic marble figure of the greatest mariner of all time, President Taft paid a tribute to his persevering genius and lofty imagination. The cord which swept aside the flags that veiled the memorial was drawn by the great discoverer's countrymen, the Italian Ambassador, and one of the chief addresses was delivered by Justice Victor J. Dowling, of the Supreme Court of New York, an eminent member of the Knights of Columbus, through the activity of which Congress was induced to authorize the rearing of the memorial which stands in the Plaza before the Union station, three blocks from the Capitol. The non-sectarian character of the official ceremony was indicated by the presence of Bishop Wilbur T. Thirkield, a Methodist, who pronounced the benediction. Conspicuous among those attending was Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A. Following the unveiling ceremony Mr. Taft reviewed a monster parade from his stand in the Plaza.

Knights of Columbus from every section of the United States, from Canada, from Mexico and Cuba, together with the army and navy contingent and civic organizations, made up a line that extended unbroken from the Treasury to the Capitol. At the head of the parade was Brigadier General Robert K. Edwards, U. S. A., with his staff.

The naval contingent, following the military, was commanded

by Captain Henry B. Wilson, U. S. N., and consisted of detachments of seamen, gunners and bluejackets from the Navy Yard, the Mayflower and from naval stations near Washington.

The honor of unveiling the memorial fell to the Italian Ambassador, the Marquis Casani Confalonieri, who spoke in both English and Italian. He said:

“I highly appreciate the honor of having been invited to unveil the monument erected to my glorious countryman by the gratitude of your fair and noble land, where I am proud to represent the name of the government of my august sovereign.

“While expressing my sincere thanks and sentiments of admiration, I beg leave to address my countrymen here present briefly in our native tongue, as a tribute of honor to the achievements of one of the greatest sons of Italy.”

The memorial takes the form of an immense shaft at the back of the fountains, surmounted by a huge globe indicative of the world, upon which is delineated in relief the Western Hemisphere, the corners of the globe being guarded by great eagles in stone. The figure of Columbus is seen standing at the prow of his vessel, which projects into the fountain, while on either side of the shaft are replicas of two men, one indicative of the old world, being an aged patriarch, while the other is a native of the new world, an Indian. The back of the shaft is to carry a medallion of Ferdinand and Isabella.



CONFEDERATE SEAL FOUND

The Geat Seal of the Confederacy, after being lost for forty years, has at last been found.

Rear Admiral Thomas O. Selfridge, United States Navy, retired, came into possession of the historic silver disk in 1872, when he acted as the representative of the United States government in a transaction by which the government obtained various Confederate State papers and other mementoes for \$75,000.

Acting as agent for the government Rear Admiral Selfridge,

then a young lieutenant, went to Canada and got the Confederate souvenirs from Colonel John T. Pickett, who was a souvenir hunter, and in connection with his law practice here made a business of buying and selling papers and documents connected with the Confederacy.

From the time of its disappearance the seal was not heard from until recently traced to the possession of Rear Admiral Selfridge. This deduction was made by Gaillard Hunt, chief of the division of manuscript in the Library of Congress. In looking over the "Pickett papers" he noted the absence of the great seal. Inquiry was made of Colonel Pickett's son, and it was learned that the seal had been presented by his father to Rear Admiral Selfridge. The Rear Admiral said that the seal was in a safe at his residence, No. 1867 Kalorama road, in this city.

The State of South Carolina has a tradition that the great seal was buried in a well in Abbeyville following the last meeting of the Confederate Cabinet.

James Jones, formerly bodyguard of Jefferson Davis, who is now living in Washington, at the age of ninety, is confident that he buried the seal in Georgia, having received it from the hand of President Davis. At that time the injunction of secretary was laid upon him by Mr. Davis, said Jones.

A FIFTY-YEAR MYSTERY

For fifty years the people of the South have speculated over what had become of the seal after the evacuation of Richmond by the Confederacy. Its disappearance and the mystery surrounding it has been a subject of enthralling interest at all gatherings of the gray veterans, and many theories of its whereabouts have been put forward and had their share of believers. At the last general reunion, in Macon, Ga., it was suggested that the seal had been buried in the cornerstone of the Confederate monument in that city. There was even talk of removing the stone.

There is little doubt of the genuineness of the seal that now reposes in a vault of the Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, Va., hav-

ing been purchased from Rear Admiral Selfridge for \$3,000 by Epps Hunton, Jr., William H. White and Thomas P. Bryan, all of Virginia. It will be sent to the English firm of engravers who originally made the seal to have its genuineness verified. The contract of sale contains a provision that if it is not pronounced real it may be returned.

Whether any credence is to be placed in the gossip that the great seal left Richmond in 1865 hidden in the bustle of Mrs. Walter J. Bromwell, wife of an office holder of the Confederate State Department, it has had an interesting history.

Following the fall of the Confederacy the seal, with a number of State papers and other documents, was removed from Richmond by Walter J. Bromwell, a clerk in the State Department under Judah P. Benjamin. The seal, according to tradition, had been intrusted to Mrs. Bromwell.

In looking through the archives of the Libray of Congress in connection with his researches for material to be used in a history of the civil government of the Confederacy, Judge Walter A. Montague, formerly a member of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, discovered that the seal had come into the possession of Rear Admiral Selfridge.



THE LOST CHILD OF WYOMING

There stands in Indiana an interesting monument, on a high knoll overlooking the valley of the Mississineva River, in Wabash county. This monument marks the burial place of a woman of singular and romantic history, known as Frances Slocum among the white people and as White Rose among the Indians. She was stolen from Quaker parents in the Wyoming Valley, of Pennsylvania, in 1778, and brought up among the Indians in the West. Her parents were Jonathan and Mary Slocum, of Connecticut, who moved to Wilkesbarre, Pa., when that was a small frontier settlement. When Frances was a young girl their dwelling was attacked by Delaware Indians.

Two or three members of the family were killed and little

Frances was carried away, first to Ohio and later to Indiana and Michigan. Soon after her capture her father was killed by the Indians, but her mother, aided by Frances' brothers and other white men, made a persistent search for Frances, who became known in those parts as the "lost child of Wyoming." She was not found.

The Indians carried her far away, over the mountains and through forests. They treated her kindly, giving her blankets to sleep upon at night in beds of leaves. At length, too, they gave her a horse to ride, and dressed her in garments of buckskin decorated with bright beads. All this pleased her, she dried her tears, and became happy in her new life.

She was taught to fear and hate the white men, and whenever she saw one she ran away. None of the white men who visited her tribe suspected, therefore, that they had a white child among them. She learned to shoot well with the bow and arrow. When the Delawares had a war with the whites she was run off into the north with the other women and children. She did not lament this.

When she was sixteen years old she was married to a Delaware chief, Little Turtle. He treated her cruelly, and she left him, and afterward was married to the Osage chief Chepokenah, or "Deaf Man." He was good to her, and she remained with him through a long life.

She remembered the wars of the Indians against General Wayne and General Harrison, and in both her sympathies were with the Indians. After the last war her husband and his people settled on the Mississineva, at a place called Deaf Man's Village.

REFUSED TO BE RESCUED

To this place in 1835, fifty-seven years after Frances had been carried away from the Wyoming Valley, there came one night a trader named George Ewing; belated on the road, he sought a night's lodging. The old chief took him into his cabin. The chief's wife busied herself about the room, and as the trader waited for his supper he watched her. He noticed that she looked like a white woman. Once she raised her arms for some-

thing; her loose sleeves fell away, revealing arms that were suspiciously white.

The trader could speak the Indian tongue, and as she made no response when he addressed her in English he questioned her in the Indian language. She admitted that she was a white woman and had been stolen in childhood. She remembered her name and the names of her father and mother, as well as that of the place from which she had been taken.

Ewing, much interested, wrote to the postmaster of Wilkesbarre, asking if there were any people of the name of Slocum still living in that vicinity. It took two years for his letter to fall into the hands of Frances' surviving relatives, but at last it reached them.

In due time her brother and sisters came to her cabin. An affecting interview took place between her and them, and they were instantly satisfied that she was indeed their long lost sister. Then they implored her to go home with them, but she refused.

"I am old," she said, "and have lived all my life with these people. They are my people. I love my husband and am happy with him."

She even refused to go with them as far as the neighboring town of Peru, apparently suspecting a trap. They went away, sorrowful. Not long afterward her husband died. Her relatives came again, once more imploring her to go home with them to Pennsylvania. But she declared now that she could not leave her bones elsewhere than by the side of her husband. She lived there until 1847, when she died.

Her story is often told in Indiana, and the monument to her memory is not only a reminder of a romantic history, but the memorial of a woman who was steadfastly loyal to a people who had won her love as well as her loyalty.



BIRTH OF REPUBLICAN PARTY

Where was the Republican party born? This question has been answered in many ways and many places claim the honor of being the first to launch this great political organization. On

the eve of the National Convention in Chicago it is pertinent to review the title of Illinois. The recent death at Los Angeles of Oliver P. Wharton is the interesting coincidence, as he was one of the two survivors of that famous gathering of Illinois editors at Decatur on February 22, 1856, which issued the call for the first Republican State Convention of Illinois, in Bloomington, on May 29, 1856. That was the birth of the Republican party.

The sole survivor of that group of editors is Paul Selby, now of Chicago, who at that period edited the Jacksonville Journal, and who suggested the assemblage. His first editorial upon the subject appeared in December, 1855, suggesting that all editors of Illinois opposed to slavery get together to agree on a line of policy to be pursued in the campaign the following year.

It has long been conceded that one of the most important factors in the birth of the Republican party was the anti-Nebraskan press.

The climax of conditions tending to promote agitation of the slavery question was reached in the approval by the President on May 30, 1854, of the Kansas-Nebraska bill repealing the Missouri Compromise and thereby removing the restriction against the introduction of slavery into the territory north of the parallel of 36 degrees and 30 minutes. The condition of political affairs existing between 1854 and 1856 was one of chaos. Parties were disintegrating and their mutually repellant elements were seeking new associations. Anti-slavery Democrats and Anti-slavery Whigs were found in sympathy and forming alliances, while the pro-slavery factions of both parties were drifting in a similar manner to a common centre. As a result there was a demand for the organization of a new party, based upon a resistance to the further extension of slavery.



“ANTI-NEBRASKAN” CONVENTION

The Convention of 1856 was not known as “Republican,” but as “Anti-Nebraskan.” However, the numerous county and Congressional district conventions of the two years preceding generally adopted the name of “Republican” and elected delegates to this State Convention. The name was generally approved and

soon succeeded that of Anti-Nebraskan. The State Convention was held in Malor's Hall, which is yet standing. Archibald Williams, of Adams county, was temporary chairman. Leander Munsell, of Edgar county, nominated W. H. Bissell, of St. Clair county, for Governor. His ill health plea was ignored and Bissell was nominated unanimously.

Those who heard Lincoln's Convention speech in Bloomington could not know that it would be followed by his "house divided against itself" speech in 1858; that the Lincoln-Douglas debates would elect him President in 1860 and that the resulting civil war would usher in the Thirteenth amendment. The most that the Bloomington resolutions dared ask for was the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, the prohibition of slavery in all the territories and the immediate admission of Kansas as a free State.

Such was the bewilderment of public thought, such the party antagonisms of the past, such the uncertainties of the future, that the Bloomington Convention could only call itself an anti-Nebraskan organization, and even the National Convention at Philadelphia three weeks later, which nominated Fremont, did not yet adopt the Republican name, either in its call or on its platform.



COLONIAL DAY ILLITERACY

Illiteracy in this country in Colonial days is a subject discussed in a historical bulletin soon to be issued for free distribution by the United States Bureau of Education. The data were gathered by an examination of signatures to the extant legal and other documents of Colonial days for the purpose of ascertaining the number of signers who had to make their marks. While the data are not altogether conclusive, they seem to indicate that Massachusetts occupied the most advanced educational position in the seventeenth century, while Virginia brings up the rear. The Dutch of New York and the Germans of Pennsylvania occupy middle positions. These are all the Colonies for which data have been compiled in the Bureau of Education's bulletin.

The monograph says, in part:

“At Albany of 360 men’s names examined, covering the years from 1654 to 1675, twenty-one per cent. made their marks. Of 231 men’s signatures at Flatbush, covering a longer period, nineteen per cent. made their marks. Of the German male immigrants above sixteen years of age who came to Pennsylvania in the first half of the eighteenth century 11,823 names have been counted, with the result of twenty-six per cent. who made their marks.

“A significant result appeared from our study of illiteracy—namely, that the male Dutch inhabitants of Flatbush made continuous improvement in this respect, the percentage of illiteracy decreasing gradually from forty per cent. in 1675 to about six per cent. in 1738.”

LARGE PERCENTAGE IN VIRGINIA

A most painstaking count of the seventeenth century Virginians indicates that of 2,165 male adults who signed jury lists forty-six per cent. made their marks, and of 12,445 male adults who signed deeds and depositions forty per cent. made their marks.

In the case of the Dutch women fewer names were collected and the showing was not so good. Of the 154 signatures of Dutch women in New York which were available an illiteracy of sixty per cent. was indicated. Of 3,066 women signing deeds and depositions in Virginia seventy-five per cent. made their marks.

“By way of comparison with these results a study was made of the signatures to deeds, &c., executed in Suffolk county (Boston), Mass., for two periods in the seventeenth century a generation apart,” says the bulletin. “Two volumes of the published deeds were used, the first covering the period 1653-1656, the other 1686-1697.”

In both the former and the latter period the percentage of men who made their marks remained constant at eleven per cent., while the proportion of illiteracy among the women decreased from fifty-eight per cent. to thirty-eight per cent.

AN HISTORICAL MONOGRAPH

"These data are exceedingly interesting and in a measure do indicate the educational conditions of the colonies," said James C. Boykin, editor of the United States Bureau of Education, yesterday. "Thus the figures from Virginia and Massachusetts possess undoubted significance. As a rule, persons who sign deeds are of the more prosperous class; therefore, if forty per cent. of these documents are signed with a cross, as we find in Colonial Virginia, we may be sure that the proportion of illiteracy in the entire population was far greater.

"It must be borne in mind that these data by no means offer a final or adequate measure of educational conditions either as between the colonies or as between the past and present. Nevertheless the figures gathered are suggestive and probably will stimulate further investigations along the same line."

The bulletin of the Bureau of Education, which deals with colonial illiteracy, is an historical monograph entitled "The Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York." The writer, Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick, assistant professor of the history of education in Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, makes the illiteracy comparison incidentally to his main theme for the sake of showing the educational status of the American Dutch for the period covered in his monograph. The bulletin will be sent free upon request to the United States Commissioner of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.



OLD-TIME PRICES AND WAGES

Schuyler R. Tyron's Daybook, kept in Middletown, N. Y., "in the year of our Lord," 1839, and thereafter, is interesting in these days of high prices and high wages.

Tyron, according to the entries in his journal, was a farmer and a methodical one. He paid the preacher, the teacher, the laborer and was generally a useful citizen. From the standpoint of those who want to complain about high prices, Tyron's record furnishes some basis for arguments. He kept a record of every cent he spent, and he spent quite a lot.

The entries start off at the beginning, namely, the cost of the pass-book in which the record is kept. The cost was 6 cents and the date was May 18, 1839.

Some of the items in the book and the dates given are as follows:

June 25, 1842, eleven pounds of butter, \$2.07. (About 19 cents a pound).

October 1, 1842, fifteen pounds of beef, 75 cents. (Five cents a pound).

April 5, 1843, sixteen pounds of veal, 64 cents. (Four cents a pound).

May 7, 1842, five dozen eggs, 50 cents. (Ten cents a dozen).

February 21, 1842, thirty-seven pounds of butter, \$7.40. (Twenty cents a pound).

November 26, 1842, Mary Ann, shoes, 50 cents.

June 4, 1842, two yards blue calico, 38 cents.

August 7, 1842, one gallon molasses, 50 cents.

August 7, 1842, seven pounds of rice, 42 cents.

August 7, 1842, seven pounds brown sugar, 66 cents.

August 26, 1842, one pair of suspenders, 25 cents.

There was plenty of labor at the prevailing prices in those days. Some of the entries for labor hire are:

Hamilton Drake.

July 14, 1845—One day mowing, 75 cents.

July 15, 1845—One day reaping, 75 cents.

Lewis McGill.

July 7, 1845—One day hoeing corn, 75 cents.

July 12—One day cradling, 75 cents.

Daniel Ogden.

July 10, 1845—One half day raking hay, 37 cents.

Clark McNish.

December 4, 1845—New shoes on my bay mare, \$1.

William Williams.

August 31, 1846—One day's thrashing, 50 cents.

In connection with the account of William Williams there are items showing board paid and also an allowance of \$1.25 for a load of hay.

In another part of this little book is the following:

1845—Gain raised on farm—

Ear corn—140 bushels.

Buckwheat—14¾ bushels.

Wheat—10 bushels.

Rye—22 bushels.

Oats—74 bushels.

Under the date of 1845 there is an item for preaching, the rate being \$2.75.

Brother Tyron was a school district trustee. Under date of January 21, 1841, there is a record of the receipt of \$3.32 from the old Board of Trustees.

One of the records of the school trustees is as follows:

“H. Tuthill taught six months. Paid her \$45.”

The school building windows suffered greatly. In a record for six months there are seven items like this:

For glass and putty—23 cents.

Taxes were certain in those days, to. Some of the tax items are:

December 12, 1845—Paid taxes, \$9.12.

November 23, 1842—Paid school taxes, \$2.15.

And finally in this little book there is a recipe for pickle to be placed on ham. This is it:

Take six gallons of water, nine pounds of salt, one quart of molasses, three ounces of saltpeter, one ounce of salaratus. Put together, cool, then skim and put on hams.



DEATH OF A. B. VAN CORTLANDT

Augustus B. Van Cortlandt, who died early in July was the head of the so-called Yonkers branch of the Van Cortlandt family. He was born in 1826, and his name was Augustus Van Cortlandt Bibby. The male line of the Yonkers Van Cortlandts becoming extinct in 1839, however, on the death of his two uncles,

Augustus and Henry White Van Cortlandt, he assumed the name of Van Cortlandt in compliance with the terms of their wills and under a special act of the Legislature.

In 1853 he married Charlotte Amelia Bayley, daughter of Robert Henry Bunch of the Bahamas, distantly related to him through the Barclay family of New York. He was a Democrat in politics, and was at one time member of the New York Assembly, but the increasing cares of his estate, owing to the rapid growth of the city northwards, gradually absorbed his time. He was for several years president of the St. Nicholas Club.

Mr. Van Cortlandt's life covered a period of many changes in New York. He was the last owner of a large part of what is now Van Cortlandt Park. Three sons, Augustus, Henry W., and Robert B. Van Cortlandt, survive him.



TO HONOR CIVIL WAR WOMEN

A resolution by Senator Root for the erection of a memorial in Washington, D. C., "to commemorate the services and sacrifices of the loyal women of the United States during the Civil War" will be reported to the Senate for adoption as a result of action taken by the Senate Library Committee on July 6. The memorial, the resolution says, shall be monumental in character and shall be used as the permanent quarters of the American Red Cross.

The Government is to contribute \$400,000 for the site and building, which shall cost not less than \$700,000. The Government contribution shall not be payable until an additional sum of \$300,000 has been raised by the New York Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. Provision is made for a committee to supervise the purchase of the site and construction of the building, the design to be approved by the Commission of Fine Arts.

Title to the building and ground shall be held by the United States, but the Red Cross shall be responsible for its care and maintenance.

GERMANY HAS HISTORIC TREASURE OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Fruitless efforts have just been made by some Americans living in Germany to recover possession by purchase of one of the most important American historic treasures, the old oaken table on which the Declaration of Independence was signed.

This table, or desk, has, it appears, been for many years in the hands of the Bismarck family, having been presented to Prince Bismarck by a group of German-American admirers. It is now in the Bismarck Museum at Schönhausen, near Berlin.

The title to the various objects in the museum, which contains hundreds of gifts received by the Iron Chancellor from worshippers all over the world, is now vested in Princess Herbert von Bismarck, the statesman's widowed daughter-in-law. She prizes the American souvenirs, including the Declaration of Independence table, so highly that she even refused all overtures to have them transported across the ocean in 1904 for exhibition at the St. Louis Fair.



CHAMPLAIN STATUE UNVEILED

The bronze statue of Champlain was unveiled in Plattsburg, N. Y., on July 6, by the New York and Vermont Champlain Tercentenary commissions, which recently presented the Champlain Memorial lighthouse to the nation at Crown Point. The statue is 12 feet high and stands on a 22 foot pedestal of granite, overlooking the lake.

The statue was formally presented to Gov. John A. Dix for the State of New York by J. Wallace Knapp, chairman of the New York Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission. Francis Lynde Stetson then accepted the statue from Gov. Dix for the city of Plattsburg.

The dedication and presentation ceremonies were preceded by a dress parade at Plattsburg Barracks and a luncheon given by the citizens committee and the Board of Trade of Plattsburg.

The dedication ceremonies opened with an invocation by Mgr.

M. J. Lavelle. Immediately after Mgr. Lavelle concluded his benediction the statue was unveiled to the strains of "The Star Spangled Banner." As the heroic sized figure was unveiled Champlain was revealed holding in his hand the arquebus of which he speaks in his memoirs. This and his costume of a soldier closely followed the style of his period. His sword, arquebus and morion were all three modelled after authentic originals in the collection of Howland Pell. The sculptor was C. A. Heber of New York city.

The base of the pedestal, of which Dillon, McLean & Beadel were the architects, forms a seat interrupted in front by a die on which crouches a Huron Indian in granite and similarly interrupted on each side by a die that supports a canoe prow. About the top of the pedestal are garlands of Indian corn.

Count de Perotti de la Rocca of the French Embassy spoke in behalf of the French Republic, after the interesting ceremonies in which Gov. Dix accepted the statue for New York and then turned it over to the city of Plattsburg.

The dedication ceremonies concluded with addresses by John A. Stewart and Job. E. Hedges, both of New York city.



MARKING THE PIONEERS' TRAILS

The movement to mark the Santa Fe trail, leading from the Missouri River to the Southwest, has received most public attention, but it is not the only enterprise of the kind undertaken. Steps have been taken for the preservation of others of the great routes along which the pioneers proceeded from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific coast.

Among these thoroughfares the great Santa Fe trail was the most important. Signs of it are still visible here and there in deep worn ruts in pasture lands, but for the most part all traces of it have been obliterated by building or cultivation. Disputes have even arisen as to its exact location.

Efforts are being made to search out every foot of the old trail before it is too late to obtain the testimony of living witnesses

and to place at every mile a stone post which shall bear the figure of the old canvas topped prairie schooner.

The Oregon trail, from Indianapolis to The Dalles, is also to be marked. Over this route the settlers of the great Pacific Northwest passed to their new homes.

In the Southwest a plan is on foot to make a State road of the old Camino trail, over which the Jesuit mission builders pushed northward and eastward from Mexico to convert the Indians.

Romantic stories attach to these old trails. In distances travelled and in the number of travellers they are as important in the history of the New World as those routes in the Old World over which men of other races migrated or marched to conquest or conducted caravans of trade. On the old Western trails lovers left notes written on the bleached shoulderblades of buffalo skeletons for those who were following.



A PIONEER'S EXPERIENCE

In the old days travel across the plains was by means of wagons or prairie schooners. They did all the freighting west of the Missouri River to the military posts and forts in the Indian country. An old timer has left an account of his experience as wagon master with one of these trains.

His first trip was made from St. Joseph to the forts on the "Big Blue." He had seventy-five wagons, each drawn by eight yoke of cattle, a driver to each team, and twelve spare men. There was an assistant wagonmaster. The wagonmaster had two horses for himself and about a dozen extra horses.

The schooner, which was a big, clumsy affair with a body some twenty feet long, carried a load of from four to five tons of goods. The whole train on the march, in single file, would extend nearly two miles. It was no easy matter for the wagonmaster to keep an eye on the whole procession.

At or before nightfall there would be made a corral to guard against Indian attacks. It was accomplished in the following manner:

The leading team was unyoked and the fore carriage turned at a slight angle inward. The next wagon was drawn up as close as possible to it, with its hind wheels on a line with the front wheels of the first, and the other wagons followed until a rough circle was formed. The cattle chains were then run from the wheel of one wagon to the wheel of that in front of it, and the corral was complete.

Inside this the cattle were unyoked, and if there were no signs of lurking Indians they were turned out to graze under the charge of two herders.

The long line of cattle would be yoked on and stretched to right or left nearly at right angles to the wagon. The drivers with their whips then swung the cattle over to left or right, as the case might be, and the wagon was bound to come out by the sheer weight of the teams unless, as sometimes happened, the tongue drew out of the body.



THE BEST EQUIPPED MUSEUMS

“The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History, as the best equipped museums in the United States, are the best equipped in the world.”

This statement was made recently by Professor Edward Sylvester Morse, the eminent zoologist, director of the Peabody Museum, at Salem, Mass., who has seen more service than any other museum officials in this country. Professor Morse retired as president of the “American Association of Museums” at the meeting of that society held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art on June 8. He began museum work in 1855, and has visited every museum abroad. He is a member of societies in England, France, Stockholm and Japan. The Emperor of the last-named nation decorated him with the Order of the Rising Sun in 1898.

“There is no doubt,” continued Professor Morse, “that the system of lighting, displaying and indexing employed by American museums is far ahead of any in use on the other side.

FAULT OF THE PARIS MUSEUM

“Our buildings are large, well lighted, well ventilated. In Europe the tendency, in many instances, has been to convert old castles, eminently unfitted if we except their beauty, as buildings, for museum purposes. There is the Cluny Museum in Paris, for instance, filled with brasses, bronzes, bric-a-brac, enchanting pieces, but shown pell mell in such disorder that the student seeking objects in chronological order must perforce be lost in the maze they make.

“The Museum in Stockholm is a wonderful edifice, an old castle, and consequently arranged architectuarally so as to defeat the order sought by museums. That is true, too, of the Hertford House, where the wonderful Wallace collection is shown. I could cite numberless other instances.”

Professor Morse declared that he could remember the Natural History Museum when Thomas Blair started it in a wooden building.

“I see,” he said, “that there are still horse cars in New York. That is amazing, particularly so when I consider the strides made since the Natural History building was made of wood. The same may be said of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

“No, America may never hope to approach the collections of paintings in the Louvre, in the National Gallery and in the Museum at Amsterdam, where scores of Rembrandt’s are to be seen in long avenues.

PEERLESS JAPANESE COLLECTION

“Already we have succeeded in surpassing in two or three instances in other branches of collecting. The Morse collection of Japanese objects and paintings in Boston Museum (Mr. Morse catalogued this collection) is the most complete of its kind in the world. The same museum’s collection of classical marbles is third or fourth in importance, while the collection of Japanese ethnology in the Peabody Museum ranks parallel to the Morse collection.”

Professor Morse was asked if he thought that a gathering of all the old masters in private collections here would make a

nucleus of such works equal to the one in Louvre or in the National Gallery.

"I cannot reply to that. I do not dare commit myself. The wealth of our American private collections is one of the wonders of the world."

At the meeting of the American Association of Museums, the following officers were elected: President, Henry L. Lord, Public Museum, Milwaukee; first vice-president, Benjamin Ives Gilman, Fine Arts Museum, Boston; second vice-president, O. C. Farrington, Field Museum, Chicago; secretary, Paul M. Rea, Charleston Museum; assistant secretary, Laura L. Weeks, of Charleston Museum, and treasurer, W. P. Wilson, Philadelphia Museum.



PLAN SCHURZ MEMORIAL

Members of the Schurz Memorial Committee, organized with Joseph H. Choate as chairman soon after the death of Carl Schurz, six years ago, have set October 5 as the date on which the formal dedication will be held. The monument will stand on Morningside avenue at One Hundred and Sixteenth street, New York city, overlooking Morningside Park, and in close proximity to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, St. Luke's Hospital, and the Columbia University buildings.

It is planned to make the ceremonies in connection with the dedication impressive by the presence of many distinguished guests, among whom will be as many as possible of the surviving generals who fought in the Civil War with Schurz. They will include Gens. P. J. Osterhaus and Julius Stahel, both veterans of the war, who, like Schurz, came to this country soon after the Revolution of '48 in Germany; and also Gen. Horace Porter, Major-Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Gen. Adelbert Ames, Gen. James H. Wilson, Gen. J. Grant Wilson, Gen. J. T. Lockman, Lieut.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles, and Major-Gen. Daniel E. Sickles.

In addition it is expected that there will be a parade of German-American veterans of the Civil War. The German Amba-

sador, Count Heinrich von Bernstorff, will be a guest of honor, and a delegation of officers of the Germanistic Society will be invited. Both Senators Reed and Stone of Missouri will also be asked, as it was from Missouri that Schurz entered the Senate soon after the close of the war.

THE DESIGN OF THE MONUMENT

Karl Bitter, the sculptor, has designed the monument, and working with him is the architect, Henry Bacon, whose design for the National Lincoln Memorial in Washington has been successful. At the head of the long flight of stairs leading from the park to the Heights of Morningside is a circular clearing, about fifty feet in diameter, and in this space the monument will be erected. The bronze full-length figure of Schurz will be placed on a granite pedestal standing on the periphery of the semi-circle. It will be a nine-foot statue showing Schurz in the long coat that he wore so often.

The pedestal will bear reliefs in polished granite, and the inscription:

Carl Schurz
Defender of Liberty and
Friend of Human Right

Two large granite seats will extend on either side of the statue, and at each end will be a bas relief containing allegorical figures representing the principal activities of Schurz—his work in behalf of the Indian and negro, and his contribution toward the advancement of the human race. A new bronze railing in keeping with the monument will replace the railing already there, and the semi-circle will be repaved with ornamental brick. The whole monument will be raised three feet above the level of the sidewalk, but will not in any way interfere with the view from that elevation.

The monument project is only part of the committee's task. It has been decided to publish the letters and speeches of Mr. Schurz in book form, and the collection will fill six volumes, the first of which will appear within a year. That portion of the

committee's fund remaining, will be distributed along the lines originally planned, a part going to Hampton Institute, part to the Civil Service Reform Association, and part to the development of Germanistic culture. The sub-committee in charge of the dedication of October 5 is composed of Oswald Garrison Villard, chairman; Carl Schurz Petrasch, vice-chairman; Herman Ridder, George McAneny, and William Corwine.



MUSEUM GETS LINCOLN RELICS

The Lincoln collection gathered by the late Major William H. Lambert, of this city, is to find a resting place in the Lincoln Museum at Springfield, Ill., according to a close friend of Major Lambert. The collection is said to be the most complete in existence and is valued at about \$150,000.

Major Lambert also was the possessor of the finest Thackeray collection in the world. This is valued at about \$250,000. It is to be sold, probably intact.



FIRST CHURCH IN NEW YORK

The first religious services on Manhattan Island was held in 1628; this resulted in the organization of a church, the services of which were held in the upper story of a mill which ground grain of the colonists. The first minister was Jonas Michaelius, and the first elder Peter Minuit, Director-General of New Netherland.

The first church building on Manhattan Island was situated on Pearl street, between Whitehall and Broad streets, facing the East River. This structure was a poor, plain building of wood, and constructed in 1633 by the West India Company. Its congregation was presided over by Dominic Bogardus, the second clergyman of New Amsterdam, and was regarded as a more fitting place than the loft of the mill for public worship.

William Kieft, Director-General of the West India Company,

caused to be erected a church outside of Fort Amsterdam which contained three long narrow windows on each side, fitted with small panes of glass set in lead, on which were burned the coats of arms of the chief parishioners. This building was erected in the meadow of Mrs. Dominic Drisius, and fronted on a lane, now called Exchange Place, in those days, however, it was known as "Garden Alley." A large bowl of solid silver for baptismal services was made by the silver workers in Holland. In the belfry was the bell which had been removed from the old church in the fort.



RARE COIN BRINGS BIG PRICE

The highest price ever paid for an American coin and possibly the highest ever given by a collector for a rare coin was \$3,000, which Henry C. Chapman of this city, paid for an American half eagle which is the gem of the collection gathered by George H. Earle, Jr., of this city.

Only one other coin of the same pattern, and that an inferior specimen, is in the possession of the United States Government. The specimen bears the date of 1798. Three of the pattern were minted, and the third never has been recorded in any collection.

Bidding, which started at \$1,500, was spirited among about thirty collectors and their representatives. A sum almost equally large was paid for another American coin, an original "Fugio" silver dollar of 1776. This is said to be the one coin of its sort now known to exist outside the Government collection. It was sold for \$2,200, after exciting bidding. It was designed by Benjamin Franklin and bears the inscription "Mind your own business, Continental Currency, 1776."

Among other valuable coins in the sale was an 1830 silver dollar, only three of which are known to exist. It brought \$200. A \$50 copper and gold plated piece of 1877, sold for \$145. A silver half dollar of 1838 brought \$400 after lively bidding. A half penny of 1795 brought \$22.

JOHNSON AS A PENMAN

The following letter written to *The New York Sun* by Mr. Isaac Markens should interest all students of American history:

I doubt the accuracy of the statement credited to Mr. Andrew D. White of President Andrew Johnson's inability to write. I had for many years in my possession the autograph signature of Johnson, furnished at my request while he occupied the White House. Such signatures are by no means rare and many are extant on amnesty documents issued to those in the military and civil service of the Southern Confederacy.

I am not aware whether President Johnson's accomplishments as a penman went beyond the making of his signature, but I find in William O. Stoddard's "Lives of the Presidents" the statement that Johnson at the age of 18 married Eliza McCordle, who taught him to write, "but he found the process slow and difficult," and it is said that he did not use a pen with facility until his thirty-fourth year, after he became a member of Congress in 1843.

Stoddard adds: "Taking it all in all, the history of America contains but few records more worthy of study and of respect than that of the poor white boy, the ignorant tailor's apprentice who taught himself how to read, whose young wife taught him how to write."

JULY, 1912

AMERICANA

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MRS. SARAH CORTELYOU

AMERICANA

August, 1912

The Cortelyou Mansion at Fort Hamilton

BY REV. JOHN CORNELL

IT SEEMS strange to the writer of this, that Glen in his book on "Some Colonial Mansions of America" should have omitted the Cortelyou House at Fort Hamilton. It is one of the most ancient and historic homesteads in the country. Jacques Cortelyou (or Corteljou as it was originally written), was the emigrant, founder of the family in this country, and the first owner of the Cortelyou homestead. He was a Huguenot and came over to this country as private tutor to the children of Cornelius Van Werckhoven. He emigrated from Utrecht in the Netherlands about 1652. He resided in New Amsterdam until 1657, when he received from Governor Nicol the Nyac patent for a tract of land in New Utrecht on Long Island. This property is described in the patent as "lying East of the North River in the Hoofden Heights." Here he remained until his death in 1693. He was allotted plantation No. 10 when the village of New Utrecht was laid out and was also interested in a large tract of land on the Passaic river in New Jersey. Jacques Cortelyou was a man of considerable learning and ability, being conversant with the French, Spanish, Dutch and English languages. As a surveyor he attained the highest reputation and was appointed surveyor general of the colony in 1657. He represented New Utrecht in the Hempstead Convention of 1665 that framed the "Dukes Laws," the first code made in the colony. He was also vendue master of the county in 1672, Justice of the Peace in 1685 and Captain of militia, 1673. The first Cortelyou Mansion was a log house, but a few rods west from the present mansion. This was burned during troublous war days,

another took its place on the same site, and this second structure was demolished by the government when the land was purchased for garrison use. The mansion now standing was erected about 1700. Stones from the old Jacques Corteljou house were used in the foundation. The landing of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis with the British troops, was off New Utrecht, Long Island, on the 28th of August, 1776. This landing was apparently without opposition, and Cornwallis not only took possession of Fort Hamilton, but also the homestead then in possession of Simon Cortelyou and here he established his headquarters for some time. The tradition of the family is that Lord Cornwallis was quite a gentleman. He did not oppress them. He allowed the family to retain half of the house, reserving the rest for himself and staff. When he withdrew in pursuit of Washington for the campaign on Long Island, which was so disastrous for the latter, he presented his writing table which he had brought with him from England and on which he wrote his military orders and despatches to Simon Cortelyou as a souvenir of his visit. This table is one of the few relics of the old homestead and came into the possession of the writer. The Cortelyou family are nearly extinct. The old homestead, too, has passed out of their hands, having been acquired by the United States government as part of Fort Hamilton and is now used as the United States Engineers' Office. One of the daughters of Simon Cortelyou (the contemporary of Lord Cornwallis), was Sarah Cortelyou, who married John Cornell, the grandfather of the writer. But this was not her first marriage and thereby hangs a tale and the romance of the homestead. The facts of the case have been greatly embellished and romantic stories circulated and published. It seems she was a young woman of great beauty and attractiveness and among her numerous admirers was a certain Captain Charles Conradi, a young German officer, who won her heart and hand. But the marriage did not meet with the approval of her father and it was a secret marriage (under license of May 30, 1782), probably an elopement. Like most runaway marriages this was an unhappy one. Her husband developed an ungovernable temper and proved himself an impossible companion, so she left him and returned to her father's house to



The Cortelyou House

live, where she was kindly received and forgiven. Rumor adds, her husband sought her there several times and begged for her return. Sarah was denied the sight of her husband. In vain the officer showed the marriage papers, in vain he pleaded. The Cortelyou father was sternly obdurate. Finally after the last bitter interview the young officer walked from the house to the bluff overlooking the narrows and there shot himself. This love story and tragedy have been made to appear as the first elopement in the colony. But the writer has the original record of the coroner's jury, under date of June 19, 1786, New Utrecht, from which it appears that he shot himself elsewhere in "a term of insanity." About a year after, she married John Cornell (previously mentioned) who lived at Red Hook, Long Island, now in the limits of Brooklyn and known as the Atlantic Docks, where he was in possession of a considerable landed estate, consisting of a tide mill and farm. This Sarah Cortelyou lived happily with her second husband and outlived him many years and died at the advanced age of ninety-one, having had fifteen children, including a daughter by her first husband, and many grandchildren, among whom is the writer, eighth in descent from the emigrant, Jacques Cortelyou and his wife Neeltje Van Duyn. The Cortelyou mansion is still standing and can be distinctly seen at the narrows from vessels passing that way.

The Promoter's Part in the Colonization of New England

BY ERNEST H. BALDWIN

IT IS only a seeming anachronism to use the term "promoter" in connection with early 17th century history. That clever and energetic exponent of modern business enterprise is but the lineal descendant and counterpart of the "adventurer" of three centuries ago. Only the name has changed, for, curiously enough, modern methods are not materially different, at least in similar projects. Poor and ignorant people were deceived and ruined by extravagant claims and the promises of great wealth in new lands then, as they have been since. Unfavorable reports and stories of disaster were spread abroad by rival or opposing interests in those days as they are now. And then, as today, there were honest and sensible investigators who sought out the truth and made it known. Examples of all these methods can be found in the history of the colonization of New England.

Until Captain John Smith named it New England that portion of America was known as Northern Virginia and granted to the Plymouth branch of the Virginia company. French fishermen, returning home, carried reports of the coast, and these found their way across the Channel to England and interested seamen there.

As early as 1585 Richard Hakluyt, a famous geographer, had advocated voyages to Northern Virginia, indicating the practical purposes to be served and suggesting the kinds of men to send. Religion, commerce, trade, patriotism, science, and political and social economy were among the considerations offered, comprising the conversion of the natives, the extension of markets, the

cheapening of products, the supplying of building materials, the injuring of the Spaniards, (always an article of English religious and political faith of the times), the promotion of discovery, the breeding of mariners, the providing of employment for the idle, and obtaining of knowledge of the climate and soil and the proper management of the natives.

Mineralogists, druggists, fishermen, salt makers, farmers, "South Spain" men or olive growers, masons and carpenters, fort makers, tool makers, coopers, shipwrights, tanners and artists were named as desirable persons to take on such expeditions.

Had this thoroughly practical advice been carefully and consistently followed, many lives, much hardship, and a great amount of money would have been saved and the successful colonization of New England probably would have occurred a quarter of a century earlier than it did. Unfortunately, what little exploration was made was largely superficial, unscientific and biased. Often those who went to spy out the land saw it flowing with milk and honey because it was for their interest to do so. Some actually thought they saw from the high decks of their ships, three hundred years ago, more wealth and resources in that small section of America than ten generations of its inhabitants have been able to find there since!

On the other hand there were some sensible and sober-minded observers who estimated things at their true values, candidly corrected wrong impressions, and frankly stated difficulties, at the same time wisely offering solutions for them and answering objections.

Information regarding the region of New England, as of other parts of America, was derived from returned explorers, fishermen, colonists, agents and missionaries and from letters of "planters" or settlers. This naturally varied in character according to the differing experiences of the narrators and, as has been said, was often prejudiced by interest. Disappointed and unsuccessful emigrants, of course, returned with disparaging accounts of the country, while the more determined, energetic and industrious colonist sent favorable reports.

The earliest accounts of explorations of the New England

coast were the result of voyages made by Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602, Martin Pring in 1603, and George Weymouth in 1605. An account of the latter voyage was written and published by James Rosier, a gentleman employed in the expedition. This pamphlet represented the beauty and fertility of the new land as so remarkable that a company was formed to acquire and settle it. Several preliminary expeditions were sent out by those interested, the results of which encouraged the adventurers to organize a larger expedition fully equipped for establishing a colony.

A combination of unfortunate circumstances wrecked this promising enterprise. The most influential supporter of the company Chief Justice Popham, died; also, his brother who went as Captain of the expedition. An unfavorable site on the Maine coast was chosen for the settlement, the lodgings and stores of the company were burned soon after their arrival, and there was much suffering from the cold. The colonists dispersed and returned to England carrying such exaggerated reports of their hardships and difficulties that further plans for colonization were abandoned and no adventurers could obtain a hearing for such projects for a long time. The idea that Northern Virginia was too cold for habitation became quite generally believed and persisted for many years.

Captain John Smith of Pocahontas fame made the next serious and systematic effort to promote an interest in the colonization of this region. After making a careful and extensive exploration of the coast in 1614, he published a descriptive pamphlet containing maps and giving it the name New England. Copies of this publication were scattered through the western counties of England.

Whatever Smith's reputation for veracity may be in certain quarters, in this pamphlet he appears as a candid and, considering his opportunities, a reasonably accurate narrator. Though a promoter in the strictest sense of the word, experience in Virginia had shown him the futility of exaggerating the wealth and productions of the new land. In New England not all that glittered was gold in his eyes. His statements of the apparent resources of the region were sober and his conclusions, in the main, sound. In his opinion the wealth of New England con-

sisted of its fisheries, chiefly. Timber and game were also highly valued, as were also the building stone, pure water and temperate climate; regarding the latter, however, it was admitted that the winters were colder. Smith argued that the rich mines of Holland were the seas and the rich mineral was the fish. In New England fishermen could go ashore nights and be with their families. Herring were mentioned as an example of the abundance of fish in general; the savages compared them in number to the hairs of one's head. The aptness of this comparison will be readily appreciated by those who have seen the spring "herring run" in southeastern Massachusetts in our day.

Captain Smith was familiar with all the stock arguments in favor of American colonization and included them in his pamphlet. The conversion of the natives was always presented as an inducement to the religiously inclined. The suggestion that the Indians might be used in cutting timber, however, reveals an ignorance of a fundamental characteristic of that race. The theory that employment could be given to the idle "who might be pleased to labor if they could but once taste the sweet fruit of their own labor," usually appealed to all burdened with poor rates. The assertion that there were no landlords and no rents to pay, of course, attracted another class. The writer expressed his personal opinion, however, that no motive but wealth would ever found a state there and urged the rich to spend their money in such enterprises, offering fine hunting and hawking as an inducement for "gentlemen."

Captain Smith's efforts to revive an interest in emigration to America, and particularly New England, met with little success. Conditions did not seem to favor it. Governor Dale had just returned from Virginia and, we learn from the "Carew Letters," the fact became known that there was no profit as yet in such undertakings, and that little good was expected from the Bermudas even where there were too many "ratts." If the more favorably situated colonies were unpromising, what could be expected from cold and bleak New England!

Nevertheless, not many years passed before a permanent and ultimately successful colony was established in New England, and that, too, contrary to Smith's expectations, from religious

rather than financial motives. The Pilgrims were the first to make a real test of the soil, climate and native inhabitants of the region. The progress of this enterprise was watched with keen interest by all English colonial promoters. Some members of the little company returned, homesick, and gave discouraging reports, but those who remained "after a year's experience or two of the Soyle and Inhabitants, sent home tydings of both, and of their well being there, which occasioned other men to take knowledge of the place and to take it into consideration."

Ill-advised and unsuccessful attempts of rival and hostile interests in the years immediately following the settlement of Plymouth delayed further immigration for some years. Weston and his crowd of rowdies, and the obstreperous Thomas Morton, representing the Gorges claim, were among those who gave the pilgrims much trouble, and by their own follies served to discredit colonial schemes and discouraged many from following the example of John Carver and William Bradford. Unreasoning and unthinking people failed to note that only idlers starved there.

To correct the bad empression these disreputable emigrants had made and to assert their claim to the territory, the President and Council of New England, in 1622, published a prospectus entitled, "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England." This announced that the persons mentioned were "undertakers for the advancement of the Plantation of New England;" that opposition had been encountered from those whose interest it was to prevent settlement in New England in accordance with their plan; and that injury had been done by bad reports of the country itself.

After recounting the various attempts at settlement since 1607, this pamphlet then proceeded to describe conditions in the new land with a view to encouraging emigration. Among the advantages enumerated were: the healthful air, the fertile soil, the valuable timber for spars and masts, vines, hemp, flax, tar and pitch, "pearles and ambergrees," fur-bearing animals, deer "bringing forth 3 and 4 at a birth," and moose of which it was said "there is hope that this kinde of Beasts may bee made serviceable for ordinary labour with Art and Industry." Geo-

graphically New England was said to be situated in the center of the temperate zone, "20 degrees from the fiery tropics and so much from the freezing arctic circle," the same as Constantinople and Rome, the "Ladies of the World."

"Hot countries," this pamphlet alleged, "yield sharper wits but weaker bodies and fewer children; colder, more slow of conceit but stronger of body and more abounding in procreation." In New England the sun's rays "were weakened by unstable reflection on the sea and laden with moisture."

The natives were said to be tractable to commerce and trade, if not abused. It was declared to be difficult to get those who had gone there to return with accounts of the country they liked it so much. The pious were reminded that they could build churches and colleges while wealth and pleasure could be found by all. Plans were being made to build ships to defend merchants and fishermen and convoy merchant ships to market. Agents had already been sent inland to find a place for the main plantation and residence of government. An outline of the proposed form of government and division of territories was given with the declaration "We seek the glory of God, the enlarging of His Highness' dominions and the general good of His Majesty's subjects."

It is doubtful if the most enthusiastic modern promoter could improve on this prospectus printed and distributed nearly three centuries ago!

Sir W. Alexander secured the grant of a place for settlement in Nova Scotia and in 1625 issued a similar pamphlet bearing the title: "An Encouragement to Colonies." The introduction to it was characteristic in that it sought justification for his scheme by quoting the examples of Abraham and Lot who were "Captains of colonies," and Moses who led a "colony of Jews from Egypt."

Sir Alexander knew human nature, evidently, and had a keen sense of humor. He was sarcastic as well as sensible. He wisely and bluntly stated the fact that there is "no land where men can live without labor." Then, referring to the extensive and conflicting claims of Gorges and others, he satirically remarked: "Though sundry other preceding Patentees are imaginarily lim-

ited by the degrees of the Heaven, I think that mine be the first that ever was clearly bounded within America by particular limits upon this Earth."

Regarding the failure of the Popham colony, this knightly promoter declared that "to justify the suddenness of their return they did coin many excuses burdening the bounds where they had been with all the aspersion that possibly they could desire seeking by that means to discourage all others." He then advocated the establishment of great estates in his territory where men might enjoy the pleasures of contemplation, "being solitary when they will and yet accompanied when they please." Too much dependence could not be placed on the fertility of the land, but rather on industry; furthermore, private fortunes alone would not be sufficient; many must put in capital. Finally, the necessity of labor was again emphasized "since no good thing can be had with ease."

The same year that Sir Alexander published his pamphlet, William Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman who went to New England with Gorges and then spent a year at Plymouth, wrote a Latin and English poem descriptive of New England. It was dedicated to the Adventurers for New England and probably was prompted and paid for by them as advertising.

This vivid writer called New England a "grand-childe to Earth's paradise, well-lim'd, well nerved, faire, rich, sweate, yet forlorne," and expressed the hope that by his verse he might win her "people, friends and commerce." His keen scent, or possibly the "nerve" which he ascribed to the region itself, prompted him to declare:

"The careful Naucleare may a-farre discry,

"The land by smell, as't loomes below the sky,

* * * * *

"The mightie Whale doth in these Harbours lye,

"Whose Oyle the careful Merchant deare will buy.

"Besides all these and others in this Maine,

"The costly Codd doth march with his rich traine;

"With which the Seaman fraughts his merry ship;

"With which Plantations richly may subsist.

"And pay their Merchants debt and interest

The pious Morrell ought to have known that most of the merchants who had invested in colonial enterprises would have been well pleased to recover fifty cents on the dollar!

“Thus ayre and earth, both land and sea yeelds store
“Of nature’s dainties both to rich and poore;
“To whom if Heaven a holy vice-roy give,
“The state and people may most richly live;
“And there erect a pyramy of estate,
“Which only sinne and heaven can ruinate.”

While this wonderful bilingual “poetry” was being laboriously prepared, one Christopher Levett, a member of the Council of New England, was making a personal tour of investigation, a report of which he wrote and published in 1628. There is some evidence that this experienced traveler had Morrell’s verse in mind when he wrote. Certainly he was indignant at the extravagant claims some writers had made. We quote: “I will not do . . . as some have done to my knowledge, speak more than is true; I will not tell you that you may smell the corn fields before you see the land; neither must men think that corn doth grow naturally (or on trees) nor will the deer come when they are called, or stand still and look on a man until he shoot him, not knowing a man from a beast; nor the fish leap into the kettle, nor on the dry land, neither are they so plentiful that you may dip them up in baskets, nor take cod in nets, . . . which is no truer than that the fowls will present themselves to you with spits through them.” There are enough of all these things for the *taking*, he said, if men be *diligent*.”

One of the most far-sighted and energetic promoters of New England’s colonization was John White of Dorchester. After a study of the subject he reached the conclusion that a wrong class of persons had been sent out for this important and difficult work and he advocated the formation of an association of wealthy and influential Puritans to undertake a settlement. This was the inception of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which Mr. Endicott and Mr. Higginson were so instrumental in establishing. The latter assisted very greatly in disseminating correct

information about the new country, and in frequent letters home, recorded impressions, answered questions, and considered objections. Mr. White and his friends made good use of these reports in England in promoting emigration. As their appeals were to Puritans, it is not surprising to find religious, moral and economic considerations urged.

From various published sources the general reasons for leaving England were: the spread of the gospel by the conversion of the Indians, thus serving the church, the destruction of which was feared unless a place of refuge could be found; the homeland burdened with poor; the excess of riot and intemperance with deceit in the arts and trade; the corruption of religion and schools of learning due to evil example and licentiousness of the governors of the seminaries; starvation in England with land plentiful in other places; and the example and encouragement to others.

The more material advantages offered were: the excellence and number of harbors; the fertility of the soil; corn which is good eating and can be bought from the Indians or easily raised; the abundance of fowl, venison and fish; wood and stone for building ships and houses; the temperate and healthful climate, "a sup of New England's air" being "better than a whole draught of Old England's ale;" the pure water and convenient fuel; the absence of oppressive rents and troublesome law-suits; fishing and fur-trading, salt and materials for nets being plentiful and furs procurable from the Indians for such trifles as glass beads and knives; employment for the idle who would find happiness in labor in the colonies; and hunting and hawking for noble gentlemen.

Of course, numerous objections to these projects were raised, many of them trivial in nature, but all ably met and answered. They furnish interesting reading and give an excellent idea of the discussions which were carried on in many Puritan homes in England in colonial days. It would be wrong to take the best people from the English churches was the selfish argument of some conservative stay-at-home. No, was the reply, for only a small number would be taken, besides being better employed and doing the church service elsewhere. The judgment time is soon

coming, objected the expectant Adventists. That was declared a very poor reason for remaining in England! We may perish on the way from hunger or the sword, wailed some timid soul. Well, there are just as many dangers at home. We have no right to the land in New England objected some legalist. Many of the natives are dead and the rest are willing to have the English come; besides, there's more than enough for all. There has been but ill success thus far, complained another. That is not to be determined by *immediate* results; former errors can be avoided; previous aims have been carnal and not religious; besides, the "scum of the land" has been used.

Isn't there danger from the savages? inquired some faint-hearted woman. No worse than some dangers at home, was the reply. The Pilgrims walk as peaceably in the woods there as in the highways in England. But ten years haven't converted these Indians, it was objected. "We hardly have found a brutish people wonne before they had beene taught civility. So wee must endeavor and expect to worke that in them first, and religion afterwards."

Are there not wild beasts and serpents? Not as bad as at home and in other parts of the world where they live safely. No man was ever hurt by snakes in New England. Foxes and wolves are troublesome, but poison and traps will destroy them.

They say mosquitoes are a great annoyance! "They are too delicate and unfit for new plantations if they cannot bear bites of mosquitoes." We wish such would stay home until they are mosquito proof. Men make light of them; smoke and closed houses keep them off; they are no worse than in Spain, Germany, Essex, and Lincolnshire; as the country improves they disappear and inland they are few.

There are reports of much sickness and complaints that one has to go without delicacies and drink water. There is no sickness, really; "some by indiscretion waded into water and caught cold," but ordinarily they have good health. And as for delicacies, "should fountains stream forth wine or beer! or woods and rivers be so they could take things as from a shop! A proud heart, a dainty tooth, a beggar's purse, and an idle hand are

intollerable." The water is as good as any in the world though not as wholesome as good beer and wine.

Is it true that fish do not take salt and keep fresh? It is false, else why do so many fishing ships go there? You have heard that there are thieves? Well, London isn't exactly free from them! You think men suffer from the cold and starve? It is not true and snow is good for corn and cattle can be fed indoors. As for starving, you probably refer to Weston's crowd. Levett says they built castles in the air and did not fish or plant corn. They built forts but these would not keep out hunger. As for the matter of breaking old friendships complained of by some, that is really a foolish objection; it may be hard but it is not unendurable.

Before 1630 promoters had become more cautious in their methods having learned wisdom by experience. Prospective emigrants were frankly told of difficulties and warned to avoid mistakes. They were reminded that there were seasons for fishing and that they must be observed; furthermore that fish could not be got without the use of the ordinary means. Farmers would not make good fishermen, nor fishermen, farmers. There were seasons for furs, too, and competition with the French must be met. Indians must be well treated. There was no certainty of finding gold, silver or copper. Tobacco could be grown but not with as much profit as in other places; fish was a better and richer commodity. While it was true that there was no need to pay rent, houses must be built and fuel fetched.

The more cautious advisers openly declared that those who went out must not be of the poorer sort for some years; that one ought to have means sufficient to feed himself for eighteen months and build a house. New England was a country where none could live except he either labored himself or was able to keep others to labor for him.

"When you are once parted with England," wrote Higginson, "you shall meet neither with taverns, nor alehouses, nor butchers, nor grocers, nor apothecaries shops, to help what things you need, in the midst of the great ocean, nor when you are come to land here are yet neither markets nor fayres to buy what you want . . . meal for bread, malt for drink, woolen and linen

cloth, leather for shoes . . . and many other things which were better for you to think of them there than to want them here."

In 1630 there was printed at London a statement of the outfit required by an intending emigrant. It was entitled "A Proportion of Provisions Needful for Such as Intend to Plant themselves in New England, for one whole yeare. Collected by the Adventurers, with the advice of the Planters." The materials were listed under the separate headings of Victuall, Apparell, Toolles, Building, Armes and Fishing. They included "meale, malt, beefe, porke, pease, greates (oatmeal), butter, cheese, vinegar, aquavitae, mustard seed and salt; shoes, boots, leather, Irish stockings, shirts, handkerchiefs, sea-cape or gowne; English spade, steele shovell, hatchets, axes, wood-hooke, howes (hoes), wimble (gimlet), saws, augers, chisells, grindestones, etc.; nayles, lockes, hookes and twists; musket, powder, shot, match, sword, belt, and pistoll; cod-hookes, lines, mackrell line and fishing lead."

The "poorer sort" could omit some of these supplies such as malt, "if they can content themselves with water in the heat of summer which is found by much experience to be as wholesome & healthfull as beere." Handkerchiefs "for the poorer sort" might be of "blew Callico." Less bedding and kitchen utensils would serve in New England than "would give contentment here."

In 1631 appeared another pamphlet for the instruction of intending emigrants entitled "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England or anywhere *or* The Pathway to Experience to erect a Plantation,—1614-1630." This aimed to prevent the greatest inconveniences met with in emigration. Regarding Virginia it explained that "living in plenty and excess . . . made the Company here thinke all the world was Oatmeale there."

The chief purpose of this writer, whose general style suggests the name of Captain John Smith, seems to have been to emphasize the fact that *labor* was necessary, using as an example of how *not* to do it, the Virginia settlement where "refiners, goldsmiths, jewellers, Imbroderers, Perfumers," etc., were sent.

The founders of the great monarchies of old "were no silvered idle golden Pharises, but industrious honest-hearted Publicans." Then follows an account of the country, its climate and natives, who, the writer sagely remarks: "are most happy in this, that they never trouble themselves with much variety of Apparell, Drinkes, Viands, Sawses, Perfumes, Preservatives and Nicities as we; yet live as long and much more healthful and hardy."

After the success of the Massachusetts Bay Colony became an acknowledged fact, the work of the New England "adventurers" became less difficult. Emigration followed rapidly for some years until political changes in England itself interrupted its course. But the work of the promoter, so far as that region was concerned, was largely accomplished; and not until the colonization of Pennsylvania and then later, the South, interested emigrants, were their services again so prominently useful.



Monument Marking where the First Settlers of Southampton Landed

The First English Settlement in New York

BY WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU, A. M.

IN THE spring of 1640 a number of men formed a company to found a colony on Long Island, calling themselves the "Undertakers" of the new enterprise. Fortunately for the cause of history all of the original documents are in existence, and form the starting point of English history in what was afterwards the Province of New York. The company purchased a vessel, but before starting on the voyage, sold it to Daniel How. The document is known as "The Disposall of the Vessell" and is dated March 10, 1639. This was when the new year began on the 25th of March, and means in the "New Style" 1640. The "Disposall" recites that Edward Howell had disbursed £15, Edmund Farington £10, Josias Stanborough £5, George Welbe £10, Job Sayre £5, Edmond Needham £5, Henry Walton £10, and Thomas Sayre £5, and they disposed of their several shares to Daniel How. He was to transport them and their goods, and in addition, he was to transport for each of them a "person and a Tunne of goods free." He was not to sell his vessel except with the consent of the majority of the company, and he was to be ready at the "Towne of Lynne" to transport the company three times in the year; namely the first month (March) the fourth month (June) and the eighth month (October). It also recites that Allen Breade, Thomas Halsey and William Harker had by the consent of the company "become party undertakers" with the rest.

At the same time an "Agreement of the Company" was drawn up, which prescribed certain regulations for the management of "our intended Plantacon." The true spirit of the Puritan and Separatist, was shown when it speaks of "the place where God

shall direct us to beginne an intended Plantacon," and concludes with the statement that "whensoever it shall please the Lord, and he shall see it good to add to us such men as shall be fit matter for a Church, that then we will in that thinge lay ourselves downe before ye Constitutes thereof either to bee or not to be receaved as members thereof according as they shall discerne the worke of God to be in our hearts."

In the mean time Thomas Newell, John Farrington, Thomas Farrington, Nathaniel Kyrkland, Philip Kyrkland, Thomas Terry and Richard Ryall had joined the company, and last of all John Cooper was admitted as "an undertaker" with as full powers as the rest.

At that time the sole owner of Long Island was William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, who had received it by Royal Grant from King Charles I. On April 20, 1637, the Earl of Stirling gave a commission and power of attorney to James Farrett, with full power to sell any portion of the same. In accordance with this, Farrett gave to the parties mentioned above, full power "to sitt downe upon Long Island, aforesaide, there to possess and improve eight miles square of land."

About this time the company sailed and landed at Cow Bay, (now Manhasset) and commenced to build houses and found a settlement. News soon reached the Dutch authorities at New Amsterdam, and a company of soldiers were sent out who arrived on May 15, finding "one small house built and another unfinished." Also "eight men, one woman and a little child." The vessel had evidently returned for another cargo. Six men were taken as prisoners to Fort Amsterdam, and upon examination stated that they came there by authority of James Farrett, with the consent of Governor Winthrop, and "it was intended to bring twenty families and more would come if the land was good." They were released upon promise to depart and not to return.

The company next sailed for the east end of Long Island. The place where they landed was on the south side of Peconic Bay. This bay was called by the early settlers, the "North Sea" in distinction from the ocean. The village of North Sea perpetuates the ancient name. Tradition, supported by documentary

evidence states that when the company landed, one woman exclaimed: "For conscience sake I am on dry land once more," and the place has ever since been known as Conscience Point.

June 12th, after a very careful examination, has been regarded as the most likely date of their arrival, and the inhabitants of the town of Southampton, of which North Sea is a part, celebrate this as "Forefathers' day." The Colonial Society of Southampton resolved to commemorate the date of the landing and its exact point, by erecting a substantial monument thereon. In the neighborhood was a large boulder, estimated to weigh thirty tons. The task of moving this rock to Conscience Point was a work of great labor, but was most skillfully performed by Mr. Frank Benedict, an experienced mover of large buildings. By his untimely death, a few months later, the town lost an esteemed and valued citizen.

The credit of this enterprise is justly due to Mr. L. Emory Terry, the president of the society, and it was largely to his labors that the project was crowned with success. On Monday, June 13, 1910, the celebration of the landing was held upon the very spot. A large concourse of citizens, among whom were many descendants of the men who landed there 270 years before, were assembled to do honor to their memory. After introductory remarks by Mr. Terry, the president, prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Russell, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Southampton, and an historical address was delivered by William S. Pelletreau.

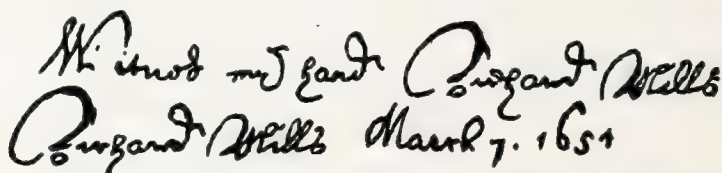
A large tablet affixed to the boulder bears this inscription:

Near this spot, in June, 1640, landed Colonists
from Lynn, Mass., who founded Southampton,
the first English settlement in the State of
New York.

The early records of the town of Southampton are very complete and being printed will be preserved for all time to come. The first town clerk was Richard Mills, who was also school master. He afterwards removed to one of the Dutch towns at the west end of the

Island, and from thence to Westchester. Here the schoolmaster found himself in hot water. It was debatable land between the Dutch and English. The very name is a lesson in history and geography. To the Dutch coming from the west it was the Oost Dorp, or the east village, while to the English advancing from the east it was known as the Westchester. Richard Mills became very prominent in supporting the English claim, and was one of the "English thieves" arrested by order of Peter Stuyvesant, and thrown into prison at Fort Amsterdam. A few weeks in this position brought the schoolmaster to his senses, and he sent very piteous letters to Gov. Stuyvesant whom he called "My Dear Lord Steveson," asking for release. But the individual known in the pages of the veracious Diedrich Knickerbocker, as "Peter the Headstrong," turned a deaf ear to his entreaties and he continued to languish. Some time after he was released, but from the effects of his imprisonment, as the English records state, "he shortly afterwards died."

Such was the unhappy fate of the first town clerk of the first English town, and the first English schoolmaster in the Province of New York. In 1710 Richard Mills of Cohansey in New Jersey, speaks of himself in a deed as being "grandson and sole heir at law of Mr. Richard Mills, formerly of Westchester." It would be interesting to know if he has any descendants living.

A handwritten signature in cursive script. The first line reads "Witness my hand Richard Mills" and the second line reads "Richard Mills March 7. 1651". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

Signaturo of Richard Mills, first Schoolmaster in New York

For
Cooper

My dear friends & countrymen
I have the honor to be
informed that the
Board of Directors of the
Southampton & Long Island
Railroad have decided
to build a line of
road from the
city of New York
to the city of
Long Island
City.

It is the intention of the
Board to build a line of
road from the city of New York
to the city of Long Island
City.

The Board of Directors of the
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Autographs of First Settlers of Southampton, Long Island

Burial of John Paul Jones*

BY DON C. SEITZ

For six years the Commodore's body has lain in a hallway at the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, awaiting action by Congress to provide for the erection of the chapel designed as a fitting tomb!

Under a stairway, back in the hall
Waiting to hear his country's call,
Coffin'd in lead—a bundle of bones—
Lies what is left of the great Paul Jones!

Found in its tomb by the merest chance,
Borne with acclaim from the land of France,
Brought with a pride of a Nation's guest
To sleep forever in splendid rest!

Here in the school where his trade is taught,
Where the lads learn how a battle's fought,
And how a hero's reward is paid
In promises broken ere they're made!

First to the air he tossed the stars,
The glorious flag with crimson bars—
Who steer'd the *Ranger* across the sea,
Beating the British to make us free.

Deep in his debt is this selfish land
Which pays the bill with a grudging hand;
So bear him back to the rough North Sea
Where the chalk cliffs rise against the lea.

*These verses were first published in Harper's Weekly.
(741)

Red are the waves where the *Richard* sank
Deep on the edge of the Dogger Bank;
Here is a grave made ready to hand,
Better and braver than one on land.

A couple of shot, a canvas shroud,
A little thunder of canon loud;
The thing is over; secure in Fame,
He needs no stone to mark his name!

Lucky the Captains who heard the hail
And went to the depths in fight or gale,
Never neglected back in a hall,
Awaiting in vain their country's call!

Shall the President Serve one Term?

THE proposal to limit the Presidential tenure of office to a single term of six to eight years is by no means as novel an idea as many have imagined. While it is true that the present trend in political affairs has brought this question more prominently to the attention of the people, an opinion almost identical with that of President Taft in his Lowell address, was expressed by President Jackson in his first message to Congress. In this message, which bears the date of December 8, 1829, the President wrote:

“It would seem advisable to limit the service of the Chief Magistrate to a single term of either four or six years.”

Indeed, he seems never to have changed this opinion, for the recommendation is repeated in the next five annual messages. Even when he consented to run for re-election, he persisted in penning his recommendations against this practice.

As a matter of fact the question as whether the President of the United States should be eligible to a second term did not originate with Jackson. As a writer in the *New York Evening Post* shows, it has existed from the very beginning of the formation of the Government. The meeting of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was fixed for Monday, May 14. It was not until the 25th, however, that as many as seven states had delegates in Philadelphia. On Monday, the 28th, the standing rules of the Convention were agreed upon, and the next day Edmund Randolph of Virginia “opened the main business.” He proposed fifteen resolutions, the seventh being in part as follows:

Resolved, That a national executive be instituted: to be chosen by the national Legislature for the term of ———; . . . and to be ineligible a second time. . . .

Randolph was almost immediately followed by Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, who laid before the convention the draft of a Federal Constitution which he had prepared. The first paragraph of article VIII of this draft was in these words:

The executive power of the United States shall be vested in a President of the United States of America, which shall be his style; and his title shall be His Excellency. He shall be elected for — — — years; and shall be reëligible.

Thus early and pointedly were the two ideas regarding eligibility for a second term opposed to each other. It is not necessary to say that the question of the length of the term is bound up with the question of reëligibility. It has always been felt that a single term may well be considerably longer than one that is liable to extension by a reëlection. What is not so familiar is the greater complexity of the whole matter as it presented itself to the framers of the Constitution, compared with it in our day. All that President Taft and Mr. Root and Mr. Clayton have to decide, all that President Jackson had to settle, is the simple problem of what number of years is most appropriate for a President who can enter the White House but once. And these men have decades of the history of the Presidency in actual operation to assist them in arriving at their conclusions. Little wonder that they should all three have hit upon the same number of years as suitable.

To the men at Philadelphia, however, the problem was much larger. Not only could no one know how the Presidency would work, but there were serious disagreements over the fundamental question of whether the Executive should be one person or more than one, and also over the method of choosing that Executive. These elements are, for us, non-existent, but they greatly complicated the question for the Convention. Upon the point of the method of election, all the early sentiment in the Convention was in favor of the idea that Randolph put into his resolution: namely, that the President should be chosen by the National Legislature. The question of reëligibility, therefore, turned upon its possible effect upon the President's independence of this body. When at last the system of electors was decided

upon, the whole matter had to be viewed again in the light of this method of choice. We give no attention to the problem of the President's independence of Congress. Presidents have shown an abundant ability and willingness to look out for themselves in this direction. What we discuss in the proposal is the effect of reëligibility upon the conduct of the Presidential office with reference to a desire for a second term, and the possible peril in making it unconstitutional for the nation to avail itself of the services of a citizen who has once sat in the chair. To these points, the spectacle in Massachusetts has added the consideration of the dragging of the position into the mire of an open and bitter canvass for votes.

The Philadelphia Convention, then, faced a four-fold problem in this matter: What should be the length of the Presidential term; what should be done regarding reëligibility; should the Executive be one or a group, and how should he or they be elected?

The Convention did not find it easy to solve the problem. It adopted various proposals, rescinded all of them, finally accepted in part a committee report that was different from any of them, and then changed the rest of the report in accordance with proposals that had not been made before during the sittings.

It was generally taken for granted that the adoption of a short term would be accompanied by a provision for reëligibility, or at least that reëligibility would not be prohibited in such a case; and, conversely, advocates of a long term stood for ineligibility to a second term. Motions in regard to length of term ranged from three years to "during good behavior." The first motion offered was that the term be made three years, with reëligibility. This was promptly met with a motion for seven years, and ineligibility. The vote, taken on the day when Randolph and Pinckney presented their plans, was in favor of the seven-year proposal, coupled with ineligibility for a second term.

Seven weeks later, when the Randolph resolutions had emerged from the committee of the whole and were before the Convention, a motion was made to strike out the ineligibility clause. In the debate that ensued, Governor Morris, speaking in favor of the motion, observed that the proposed ineligibility tended to

destroy the great motive for good behavior on the part of a President, that motive being the hope of a second term. It was saying to him: "Make hay while the sun shines." The record of the Ashbridge Administration in Philadelphia a decade ago is as striking an illustration as Morris could have desired of this base use of a single term, to which Mayors of the Quaker City are limited by the city charter. The argument so impressed the convention that the ineligibility clause was promptly stricken out. The next day the length of the term was reduced from seven to six years.

An ingenious scheme was proposed on July 25 by Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut. He moved that the Executive should be appointed by the National Legislature, as had already been determined, but with the exception of the case in which "the Magistrate last chosen shall have continued in office the whole term for which he was chosen, and be reëligible; in which case, the choice shall be by electors appointed by the Legislatures of the States for that purpose." By this means, he argued, a deserving President might be reëlected without being made dependent on the National Legislature. Thereupon, Mr. Pinckney moved that no person should be eligible for more than six years in any twelve. Neither motion prevailed. And on the next day the Convention went back to the original arrangement of a single term of seven years.

In the meantime, the question had become complicated with the problem of whether the Executive should be one person or more than one. Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, says Madison in his report of the proceedings, "did not like the unity in the Executive. He had wished the Executive power to be lodged in three men, taken from three districts, into which the states should be divided. It was pretty certain, he thought, that we should at some time or other have a king; but he wished no precaution to be omitted that might postpone that event as long as possible. Ineligibility a second time appeared to him to be the best precaution. With this precaution he had no objection to a longer term than seven years. He would go as far as ten or twelve years." To this, Oliver Ellsworth replied that a Pres-

ident would be more likely to render himself worthy of reëlection if he was rewardable with it.

On August 6, the Committee of Detail, which had the task of drawing up the desires of the convention in formal shape, reported section 1 of article x as follows:

The Executive power of the United States shall be vested in a single person. His style shall be, "The President of the United States of America," and his title shall be, "His Excellency." He shall be elected by ballot by the Legislature. He shall hold office during the term of seven years; but shall not be elected a second time.

This section, as will be seen, combines the original Randolph and Pinckney proposals. But often as the Convention had come back to this, its first decision, it was not yet satisfied. Gouverneur Morris attacked the method of election, proposing instead that it be by electors chosen by the people, and again assailed the ineligibility clause. He foresaw the President abdicating his functions, courting the Legislature, in order that, upon the expiration of his one term, he might become a member of that body, "and enjoy there the fruits of his policy." On September 4, a Committee of Eleven, to which had been entrusted the work of reporting upon the unfinished parts of the Constitution, suggested the insertion of these words after the word "Excellency," quoted above: "He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected in the following manner" This manner was election by electors. Morris' view had again prevailed.

Hamilton gave his voice to this arrangement, remarking that in the original plan the President was a monster, elected for seven years, and ineligible afterwards. Nevertheless, attempts were made to substitute, first, seven and then six, for the four years proposed by the committee. After these motions had been defeated, the four-year term was adopted by unanimous vote, that of North Carolina alone excepted, with nothing said about eligibility for reëlection. Gouverneur Morris suggested the idea of providing that the President in office should not be

one of the five candidates upon whom, in the event of no choice by the electors, the Senate, or, as it finally became, the House, should vote; but that he should be reëligible only if he was chosen by a majority of the electors. The convention, however, left the matter of reëligibility as it was, and as it still is.

There seems to have been no further agitation of the question of ineligibility for a second term until Jackson wrote his messages. His example in not only accepting reëlection, but in naming his successor, can hardly be said to have had the effect that might have been expected in strengthening the feeling in favor of the ineligibility for which he pleaded. But in 1844 a National Convention put into its platform a resolution advocating "a single term for the Presidency." This was the convention that nominated Henry Clay. It was the forerunner of similar action in four subsequent conventions.

The first of these was held just twenty years later, the convention of radical opponents of Lincoln that met at Cleveland in 1864 and nominated Fremont for President by acclamation. The tenth plank of its brief platform read as follows:

That the one-term policy for the Presidency adopted by the people is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by constitutional amendments.

Eight years later the idea found expression in the platforms of two parties. The Labor Reformers, meeting at Columbus, resolved:

That as both history and experience teach us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the interests of a free people, and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand, and secured on the other, by a regular constitutional change in the chief of the country at each election; therefore, we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the Presidential chair to one term.

The Greeley Convention of the same year had a long plank upon the subject, alleging the "scandal and reproach upon free institutions" that the civil service had become under the admin-

istration of Grant, and declaring that to the end that "the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage . . . it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for reëlection." Greeley himself prepared an historical review and argument on the subject, called "The Principle of the Single Term."

The latest repetition of the demand for one term was that made by the People's party, in its convention of 1892. Subjoined to its platform of that year was a series of resolutions, which, it was explained, were to be regarded not as a part of the platform, but as expressive of the opinion of the party. The humor in this distinction seems to have escaped its makers. The eighth of these "opinions" read:

Resolved, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term.

And, finally, Mr. Bryan is in the habit of announcing that if elected he will serve but one term. The question does not seem to have arisen in connection with the ill-fated attempt to nominate ex-President Grant for a third term in 1880. In that struggle, however, the point was of eligibility not for a second term, but a third. There was apparently more opposition to a second term in the Philadelphia convention than there has been since. The feeling expressed against it in the party platforms of 1844, 1864, 1872, and 1892 was in some of these cases, at least, evidently the offspring of a violent desire to supplant the party in control, and cannot be regarded as representative of a widespread and unpartisan conviction. Even President Taft's outburst was obviously provoked by a most extraordinary and indeed unprecedented situation.

President Taft's pronouncement resulted in the introduction by Representative Clayton of Alabama, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, of a joint resolution providing for a constitutional amendment fixing the length of the Presidential term at six years.

At the other end of the Capitol, a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Root, has favorably

reported to the full committee the Works resolution, providing for the submission to the states of a constitutional amendment upon the subject. The resolution originally made the Vice-President also ineligible for a second term, but the sub-committee struck out this part of it. Should it be adopted by Congress and ratified by the requisite number of states, paragraph 17, section 1 of article 27, the Constitution would be altered to read in part as follows:

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of six years, and be ineligible for reelection thereto. . . .

The arguments upon the question leave one in the air. On the one hand, a single term is declared to invite the most selfish use of it in order to secure its benefits before they fade forever. On the other hand, it is replied that a single term takes away the temptation to misuse the office in order to obtain re-election to it. *A priori*, one of these arguments is as good as the other. But we have had over a century of experience with Presidents, and while this experience has all been under the re-eligibility plan, it ought to leave us in a much better position to judge of the relative merits of these arguments than that in which were the men of the Philadelphia Convention, who were the first to face the problem, and according to their light solved it.

A State Founded on the Tin Peddler

BY R. MALCOLM KEIR

BECAUSE of sharp tricks, the Connecticut Yankee tin peddler has been cursed and reviled for nearly two hundred years. The peddler's basewood hams, oak leaf cigars, white oak cheeses, wooden nutmegs and tin bung holes are the things for which he is remembered, while the real service he has rendered his state has been forgotten.

"The evil that men do, lives after them
The good is oft interred with their bones."

Yet, despite his reputation, the peddler has had a definite place in the upbuilding of his state. He has been an important cog in the machinery of Connecticut's development.

The tin peddler was a product of colonial days. The first settlers in Connecticut were agriculturists, who, with a keen eye for the necessities of their business, picked out the rich farm lands along the Connecticut River. Later comers had to be content to perch on the rocky, stubborn hilltops, or to find some new way to make a living. The seashore proved more inviting than the boulder strewn country inland, and so citizens who were not farmers became shipbuilders, fishermen and traders. Boats were made *on* the shore to catch fish *off* the shore and carry them to the West Indies. The return load was sugar, which was distilled into rum and molasses. Part of the rum was used in the home colony; another part was taken to Africa and exchanged for slaves, who were sold in the West Indies. This trade with the West Indies was very profitable, and helped to establish many proud families. The number of persons who

could engage in building boats, making rum and selling slaves did not satisfy the increasing demand for new occupations for the people at home. Connecticut's infertile veneer of soil prohibited farming except in the already pre-empted river valleys. Lack of capital, high price of labor and distant markets prevented the growth of known manufacturing. But population continued to grow. What to do with the excess became an acute problem. The matter became reduced to a case of "Root, hog, or die." Some died. Some were *up-rooted*, going to swell the large Connecticut population that lives everywhere west of the state. Some rooted.

Two of those who rooted were Wm. Pattison and his brother Edward, Irishmen, who had come to a settlement on the Connecticut River about 1740, and not liking the prospects for farming, ventured in the business of making tinware, a trade they had learned in England. This was an entirely new industry for the colonies, and one that fitted Connecticut conditions. It did not require much capital, nor many high priced laborers, yet it did afford occupation to the most daring floaters in the community. The product met a ready sale, for tinware had been previously imported at a high price, and so was a scarce article, much prized. The brothers imported sheet tin from England at Boston, and carried it by horseback to the Connecticut River town. There the tin was pounded into shape with wooden mallets over anvils. When a sufficient supply of wares had been made, it was packed into a sack. With this slung from their shoulders the brothers went on foot to the nearby settlements, stopping to sell at each house until the pack was empty. These two were the first Connecticut tin peddlers.

Little by little, the brothers enlarged the scope of their travels, building a thriving business. When the distance covered became too great for foot travel, they ingeniously fitted baskets to saddles, and made longer journeys on horseback. After a time their trade grew too large for them to handle alone, so they taught a group of young apprentices the art of making tin pans, and showed a more enterprising class of youths how to beguile and flatter housewives into trading caraway seeds, mustard seeds, feathers and old metal, for new shining tin. It was the latter

young men who formed the renowned fraternity of Connecticut peddlers.

They were full of push and considerable daring, for it took real bravery to venture alone on long journeys at that time. They were also superlatively ingenious for they had to extricate themselves from all sorts of accidents and tight places. Their almost vagabond existence leading them always into new places among strangers, made them careless of life, of morals, of everything except a bargain. They would do anything to make a trade, and so became keen students of human nature and past-masters in guile. They are the ones who established the rule that a peddler's hand weighs one pound, and his foot two, and were guilty of many another sharp trick. Hence their unsavory reputation.

The success of the two original tinsmiths was imitated by their neighbors at home, and soon Connecticut became the recognized centre for tinware. Each tin shop sent its little corps of men into the highways, by-ways and hedges, so the nasal drawl and slab sides of the Yankee peddler were known in every Middlesex village and farm. The establishment of turnpike roads in 1790 enlarged the peddler's operations, by allowing him to shift his pack from the horse's back to a peculiar wagon, somewhat like a sawed off stage coach. A heavier, more varied load could then be carried. With the development of canals and roads the peddlers became the better organized.

Single or two horse wagons were started from Connecticut in the spring, and travelled north, south and west toward pre-arranged depots. In the fall, workmen from the Connecticut shops were sent by water to such central points as Montreal, Richmond, Charlestown or Albany. There they made new articles of tin from raw materials which they carried with them. Peddlers worked toward these central points to replenish their wagons, and then struck into the interior for the winter, making house to house canvass of their wares. In this way literally every hamlet in the colonies came to know, and use, the Yankee notions sold by the peddlers. After 1820, roads had been enough improved so that depots were established at favorable inland points, as well as points reached by waterways; operations were extended still further inland, even to the remotest frontier. Since the cur-

rency was in a chaotic state, much of the trading was simply "swapping," the peddler taking household products to the towns, and town products to the farms, until such times as he could sell for actual money. At the end of a six or eight months' trip, the peddler sold his horse and wagon wherever he could, and then rapidly made his way back to Connecticut with his gains for his employer. Thus was built a strong distributing and selling organization that closely resembles our Trusts. The peddlers were not individual traders, but were employed by a few capitalist tin makers in Connecticut. The supply stations were established at strategic points, and from these, regular routes ramified in all directions, making a complete system.

Stress has been laid on the *selling* of tin because that was the principal end of the business. The manufacture remained a simple thing, rarely attaining the dignity of a factory operation. The largest concerns employed only fifteen or twenty men, and usually less than ten. These few kept several times that number of peddlers supplied. Although Connecticut was the recognized leader in the tin industry down to 1850, the chief value of the industry to the state was not in the amount of goods produced, nor the men employed at home, but in the perfection of the elaborate selling organization outlined, and the creation of a wide market for *other* Connecticut goods. Tin itself, as an industry, has dropped from importance since 1850, but the foundation for the state's success in manufacturing was laid in the scheme for marketing tin. Built by the distributing organization perfected for tin, other industries have become permanent, valuable assets for the state, giving it its eminence as a manufacturing centre.

One such industry that the peddler helped build had its humble beginning in the manufacture of buttons. To us buttons are commonplace, but to our grandfathers, buttons were cherished objects kept among the family heirlooms. The first buttons were made of pewter, and cost as high as a dollar apiece. When the good citizens of Connecticut were forced to hunt for some means to keep themselves out of the poorhouse, one of the schemes they hit upon was making buttons, first of pewter, then of brass. The copper for the brass buttons was obtained from old sheathing in Connecticut ship yards, or from worn out copper kettles of rum

distilleries. This copper was mixed with imported zinc, and made into sheet brass, in mills that had cast and roller iron in the western part of the state before the Revolution. There was no thought of selling the sheet brass for there was no market for it. Buttons did have a ready market, and a high value with little bulk, so sheet brass was stamped into buttons which were gilded and put on sale. Since buttons were made of metal, they were usually sold by hardware dealers. The dealers refused to have anything to do with American made buttons, claiming that English buttons were superior in quality and appearance. But for one thing, the infant industry would have died right then, before it had a chance to toddle. Shut out of one market, the experimentors reached a better, more direct one, by handing their buttons over to the peddlers. Since the buttons took little room the peddler could easily add them to his stock in trade. Through him they found a ready and increasing sale. Although brass was first made to supply buttons, improvements in casting and rolling brass so increased the supply of the sheet metal, that the demands for buttons alone could not utilize the surplus. New uses had to be created. The new products were all small. Brass kettles to hang alongside the tin vessels on the peddler's wagon were manufactured. Wire was drawn from the sheet brass, then stamped into pins, or hooks and eyes. The peddler was glad to add these things to his outfit, because the greater variety of wares to display made him more sure of striking a trade.

The brass industry is markedly different from the tin. The value of tin lay in the selling organization it built. Tin manufacturing required few workers of only moderate skill. The industry was short lived. The value of the brass industry lay in its giving employment to a larger and larger number of highly skilled workers at home. It has been permanent. But the brass industry of to-day with its myriad of small things and large, owes a great debt to the tin industry which preceded it, for without the market provided by the peddler, the buttons, which were the foundation of the brass industry, could not have been sold.

Other illustrations taken from the multitude of "Yankee notions" could be used to reiterate the service rendered by the peddler in the days when manufacturing was beginning. One of

the most interesting of such examples would be suggested by the names Waterbury, Seth Thomas, Ansonia, and Ingersoll; calling to mind the whole clock and watch family.

In George Washington's day, clocks were ponderous affairs, made of wood and standing higher than a man. When the supply of farm lands failed in Connecticut, the spur of necessity made the Yankees root out new ways to escape starving. Clock making was one of the new things in which they indulged. They applied their ingenuity in making the clock cheap enough to go into the ordinary home and less of a museum curiosity. The first improvement was the making of interchangeable parts; that is, instead of making each clock as an individual with no two alike, standard patterns for the parts of the clock were devised, so that like pieces in similar clocks were always the same size and shape and could be manufactured in quantities, thus reducing the cost for making each piece. This alone greatly increased the production of clocks and cheapened their cost. Next, the clock's legs were amputated. The clock was made small enough to stand on a shelf. This marked almost a new era in time. The small shelf clocks, like buttons and pins, found their market on the peddler's wagon. The clocks sold like peanuts on circus day. No longer were time-pieces the badges of the rich. Every poor man could own one. Many attempts to replace wood by metal or even glass in the clock parts failed because metal was expensive and wood very cheap. Not until 1837 was brass cheap enough to compete with wood. That year a radical improvement was made. Clocks were constructed to run for one day only, and not the customary eight days. The interchangeable parts were made of stamped brass, and the price was six dollars, an astonishingly low figure. Connecticut became the nation's time-keeper. Peddlers carried the new brass clocks into every nook and cranny of land, becoming nearly as famous for clocks as they had been for tin. It was this wide sale that gave the industry its start. The peddler was the connecting link between a wide-spread, scattered demand, and a better method of production.

So, in many ways, the peddler was the necessary go-between, joining producer and consumer. Lack of a better means of

transportation and communication helped him build his trade routes. Peddling started at a time when roads were but poorly kept trails, oftentimes missing altogether. When turnpikes and canals were constructed, they afforded the peddler a better means of getting about. His business was increased by extending its range. But when railroads were built the peddler's knell was sounded. The steam horse was quicker, cheaper and more efficient than the animal. People preferred trading with a man of their own community when that man could get goods quickly and cheaply by railroad. So the peddler fell from grace. He was no longer a welcome visitor bringing news and wondrous trinkets from the world outside. His former trade went to the man who was on the spot. His cart lost its red paint. His horse's belly no longer rubbed the shafts. The character, too, of the men engaged in peddling changed. The shrewd bareboned Yankees were replaced by the bearded sons of Abraham, or the oily descendants of Aristotle. The jingling tin-cart was seen only in the remote districts far away from the railroads. To-day the trolley cars are chasing the peddler out of even this lair. Soon he will be but a picturesque memory. But there are still a few left-overs of the former era.

In the farming districts of New England there is to-day a system of selling ladders, porch chairs, lawn swings, brooms and clothespins that resembles the old system of tin peddling. The wagon is a simple frame and trucks to which all the paraphernalia to be sold is cleverly hooked. The resulting load is light though bulky. The tin peddler's wagon was a decapitated stage coach with innumerable little doors and compartments for storing away treasured wares. The load was not bulky but it did have considerable weight. The peddler on the ladder wagons does not much resemble our bygone Yankee friend. The present incumbent has not such a high order of intelligence as his predecessor. His is usually a failure from some other work who has drifted into peddling ladders on the lines of least resistance. But the method of marketing the ladders by direct call on remote consumers is just the same as the method that sold so much tin.

In our cities the pushcart men are the heirs of the tin peddling

method. Every conceivable thing is sold from pushcarts, from peanuts and fruit to suspenders and women's hats. Like their prototype the pushcart men are highly organized for buying and selling. The modern notion of unions has reached even that humble realm.

The push-carter, the ladder waggoner, and the tin peddler all sought to reach the consumer directly. The tin peddler was a liar, a sharper in a trade, yet he was the humble agent that has helped put his state among the leaders in the production of small, useful articles, by providing a feasible way of getting the goods into the hands of the users of the goods. Production without sale is failure. Distribution is the life of trade. The peddler was the distributor.

Reminiscences of John James Audubon

BY MRS. E. W. ROBERTSON

IT WAS in the gloaming of a lovely evening as we sat upon the broad veranda of a spacious mansion in West Baton Rouge Parish in Louisiana.

The magnolia and mimosa trees were in full bloom, and the flowers mingled their fragrance, which the cool breeze wafted to us, filling the whole house with the delightful perfume. Just then a mocking-bird burst forth in his glorious song, as if in adoration of the full moon, which was rising in all its splendor.

The family circle centered in our mother, whose erect form and intelligent deportment seem to defy the ravages of time. Full eighty years had rolled over her honored head, yet her mind was bright and vivacious as she recalled the occurrences of long past events.

One of the family commented upon the beauty of the evening, and suggested that it was probably the mocking-bird which first intimated to Audubon the idea of describing the birds of America, and addressing Mother said: "You have often spoken of Audubon, will you tell us of him now?"

We all gathered around her "old arm-chair," and after a short pause she proceeded to relate her reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. Audubon.

Before my marriage I went on a pleasure trip to the city of New Orleans on board of the steamboat "Orleans," commanded by Captain Oliver. This boat was the first one ever propelled by steam up the Mississippi River, usually occupying a week in traveling the same distance which is now accomplished in twenty hours.

There was a gay party of us, and we enjoyed the trip very

much. While in the city I became acquainted with a wealthy lady, lately married.

As she had no education, her husband advertised for a teacher. Mrs. Audubon applied for the position, and at the time of my visit was engaged as her teacher.

I remember distinctly the impression made upon me by Mrs. Audubon. She was not handsome; her face was spoiled by her nose which was short and turned up. She had fine dark gray eyes, with long black lashes, but expression was the chief attraction, being very gentle and intelligent. Her whole appearance aroused my respect and admiration.

I do not remember the year, but it was several years after the battle of New Orleans. We rode out to see the battle ground, and it was all planted in corn, which was two feet high at the time of our visit. I was married in 1823 to Dr. Nathaniel Wells Pope, who boarded with the Audubons in Lexington, Ky., while he was pursuing the study of his profession with Dr. Dudley. We lived in the town of St. Francisville, in the Parish of West Feliciana.

Mrs. Audubon was teaching in the family of Mr. Garrett Johnson, a planter who lived about seven miles from the town. The school was very, very popular, and was patronized by the elite far and near, for schools were not so accessible then as now.

When Audubon came to St. Francisville on his way to visit his family, my husband invited him to make our house his home, which invitation he accepted whenever he was in that part of the country. Audubon was one of the handsomest men I ever saw. In person he was tall and slender; his eyes were like the eagle in brightness, his teeth white and even, his hair a beautiful chestnut brown, very glossy and curly; his bearing was courteous and refined, simple and unassuming. Added to these personal advantages he was a natural artist and a keen sportsman.

He has often described to me the cottage where he was born. It was on the bank of the Mississippi in lower Louisiana, and was surrounded with orange trees. When quite young his father sent him to France to be educated. He returned to the United States after completing his education, and married an English lady, who was accomplished and dignified. They were married

in Philadelphia, from whence they emigrated to Lexington, Ky. Here he opened a large store. Being hospitable and generous, his table was furnished with the choicest viands. Unfortunately he failed in business, and was treated with much neglect by those who had shared his fortune. Stung to the quick by this treatment he resolved to make a fortune and show these false friends that he could "earn money as well as spend it." He would say, "I mean to get me a coach and six and ride through the streets of Lexington yet." He had always been fond of hunting and drawing, and he now turned to these apparently frivolous pastimes as the means whereby his fortune could be made. His first sketch was a wild duck sitting on her nest among the reeds in a marsh.

Mrs. Audubon advertised for a situation as a teacher, and he started out on his career. This was several years before I knew them. They were always very happy at our house and discussed their plans for the future in our presence. He would relate to her the incidents in connection with his occupation and she would write them out for him for publication. I am sure she wrote nearly, if not all of the descriptions which accompany his paintings. His whole time was occupied in learning the habits of birds of which he kept notes that his wife delineated.

He kept his specimens in a water tight, tin box, which remained in my parlor for months. His reputation was spread far and wide, and often our home was filled with visitors who came to see his drawings and paintings. He would spread them out on the floor for inspection. Persons from afar came to see his collections and he never seemed to weary with unpacking and explaining them. He was very social and communicative, was the centre of attraction in every circle in which he mingled.

During one of his trips to Pointe Coupee he captured a small alligator, which he placed in a tub of water in his room in the house of a friend. After a short absence he returned to the room and found that the alligator had disappeared.

A search was instituted but no trace could be found. Six months after the lady of the house found it in an old boot under the bed in the room Audubon had occupied. It was alive and well. In his delight at making a scientific discovery, he did not

reflect that the boot being found in the same place was an evidence of a careless housewife until she laughingly reminded him of the fact, when he made her an ample apology.

On my return from church one Sabbath, I think I had been to hear Lorenzo Dow preach, I found that Audubon had arrived during my absence and hung up in my parlor four of his oil paintings. One of them was a portrait of Hare Powell the great boxer. It was a very fine picture. The handsome, smiling face, with dark hair and eyes; the open shirt collar showing the splendidly formed neck, made one of the finest specimens of athletic manhood. The other portrait was that of Mrs. Brown, fair complexion, was dressed in a low-necked dress, white with and was his first attempt in this line of art. She had red hair, a crimson scarf thrown over her shoulders.

The other two were vegetables and fruits. They were very beautiful when Audubon hung them in my parlor as a present to me. I was much gratified with his delicate kindness in bestowing them.

Where are they now? They were destroyed during the war. He was anxious to paint my portrait, but I never would consent to sit for one, and would laughingly tell him I was too ugly to paint.

I have since regretted that I did not comply with his request. I did not at the time reflect that he might have thought in this way to cancel somewhat the debt of obligation he was under to us, though he was always a cherished guest. He was abstemious in his diet; did not drink tea or coffee or use tobacco. He always drank a glass of weak whisky and water which, for his breakfast, he called grog. After I prepared my husband's coffee I mixed his grog. Audubon was the most expert carver I ever saw cut the bauxhall slice with the greatest nicety. I never knew him to have a severe sickness, and do not think he drank any liquor except at meals, which the life he led necessitated.

After spending a short time of rest with his family and friends, he would start again on his lonely journey in the woods with his knapsack on his back, alone and on foot, often remaining until his clothes were worn out, and his hair in long curls on his shoulders. It was beautiful, as I said before, and the girls

at his wife's school would beg him for his curls, that they might wear them as was the fashion at that time. He would tell them to bring the scissors and with good nature submit his hair to be sheared by their unskillful hands.

He seldom shot the birds which he painted; usually stunned them by concussion or wet the plumage by a squirt and caught them. Whenever practicable he drew and painted the birds before the eyes became dim, placing them in position by means of wires.

Once while describing to us some of the scenes and incidents of his travels, he said: "If I were to tell you one half that I see in the lonely ravines and swamps, it would make your hair stand on your head. I do not like to relate my adventures to everyone, for I might not be believed and yet everything I said would be truth."

One day he showed us his painting of the wild turkey, compared it with that of Bonaparte which he had lately procured.

He said that the superiority of his own painting consisted in the shading of the legs, which Bonaparte had painted all one color, while those of his turkey were shaded in different hues as in the live bird. Though no artist myself, I could see the difference after his explanation.

About the year 1827 we moved into the country. Audubon visited us for the purpose of procuring and studying the habits of the swallow-tailed hawk, which were plentiful in the woods near us. One day Dr. Pope and Audubon went fishing in a lake—Garnhart's, I believe—and on their return brought the largest turtle I ever saw. The head was eight inches across, and the shell was large enough for an infant's cradle. It snapped the largest cane in two with a single bite and was extremely savage.

Audubon had lately returned from Europe, where he had gone to have his drawings engraved. He was obliged to visit England, Scotland and France to have it done. Each one of his birds required a separate plate, which was very tedious and expensive.

Our dwelling was a log house, weather boarded on the outside, but the logs inside were exposed. Between them I placed all the odds and ends, eggs, bunches of feathers, garden seed,

brooches of yarn; in fact whenever anything was wanted, turn to the log wall and you would generally find what you were looking for. Audubon often laughed at my museum as he called it. One day he had been gathering some forest leaves as souvenirs for some friends in England. Looking around at my museum he said, "Madam, if I could put this house as it stands in London, it would make my fortune for it would be one of the greatest curiosities I could take there.

While he was wandering in the forest, his noble wife was working in order to assist him in having his pictures engraved.

It grieved him exceedingly to have it so. Every time he returned home he found her fading and drooping, and he could only compare her to a beautiful tobacco plant cut off at the stem and hung up to wither and fade with head hanging downward. Audubon was an accomplished swimmer, and taught his wife's scholars the art, by which one of them was saved from drowning. The steamboat Brandywine, on her passage up the Mississippi, caught fire. The tiller, being rope, burned in two and made it impossible to steer the boat to shore. Turning around and around it was soon consumed. The passengers jumped overboard and many were drowned. One of Audubon's pupils, Miss Hamilton, swam to shore and was saved.

I never met Mr. and Mrs. Audubon after they left Louisiana. They had two little sons, John and Victor. The eldest was at school most of the time. Victor stayed with his father whenever it was possible to do so. I always think of them with pleasure. Some of the happiest days of my life were spent in company with Mr. and Mrs. Audubon.



East Little Lake Valley July 1907

View looking down valley of
Little Lake

History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXXI

THE SALT LAKE VALLEY REGION: FERTILE OR NOT FERTILE?

IT was a wonderful country into which the pioneers of the Church of the Latter-day Saints had penetrated, and which their Prophet-leader designated so positively as their place of habitation. It was a country practically unknown, through the eastern states, except through the Reports of Fremont and his topographical maps published in the year 1845. Other reports that reached the east concerning the great west and northwest, from agents of the fur companies, from returned adventurers—hunters and trappers—and from missionaries, concerned themselves chiefly with Oregon or California. The Great Intermountain West had not, as yet, inspired a great amount of interest. The “Great Basin,” in which are located, on the east side, Salt Lake and Utah Lake—the latter a body of fresh water some thirty miles south of the former—was marked off on Fremont’s topographical map as having a diameter of eleven degrees of latitude, by ten degrees of longitude;¹ and an elevation above the sea between 4,000 and 5,000 feet. It extends from the Blue Mountains of Oregon in the north to the approaching southern ends of the Wasatch and Sierra ranges, in the south. Its eastern rim or wall is the Wasatch range, the western cordillera of the Rocky Mountains; while the Sierra Nevada range

1. This, of course, is approximate extent; and still approximating only, it may be said that the “Basin” lies between the 110th and the 120th degrees of longitude; and between the 26th and the 45th degrees of north latitude, at the points of its extremest length and breadth.

forms the western rim. The Sierra and the Wasatch ranges describe, respectively, a great but irregular arc of a mighty circle, the ends of which approach each other at both the north and the south, so that the "Great Basin" is irregularly oval rather than circular in form, with its greatest extent running north and south.² Fremont describes it on the face of his topographical map as, "*a region surrounded by lofty mountains; contents almost unknown, but believed to be filled with rivers and lakes which have no communication with the sea, deserts and oases which have never been explored, and savage tribes which no travelers have described.*"

Subsequent exploration and settlement proved much of this conjecturing to be true. It is a region surrounded by lofty mountains; also with many local, narrow mountain ranges, for the most part running parallel with the ranges forming the Basin's east and west sides. "The absence of one or more short ranges opposite each other will occasionally unite several valleys into one," says Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison.³ He also notes that some partial cross ridges in the Basin form minor basins. Much of the Great Basin's area is desert and semi-desert, with here and there fertile tracts of land bordering local river systems, the oases of Fremont's conjectures. It has the river sinks and shallow, brackish lakes which have no outlet to the sea. Indeed the whole Basin itself is but the bottom of some ancient sea with probable outlets *via* of the Columbia Valley, connecting it with the Pacific Ocean.⁴

It is with this region about the Great Salt Lake, however, where the Latter-day Saint Pioneers had halted, and where, and in adjacent local valleys, their colonizing activities for some years will be employed, that I am here immediately concerned.

2. See topographical map accompanying Fremont's Report of his "First and Second Expedition, 1842-3-4;" published by order of the U. S. Senate, at Washington, 1845. Others regard the "Basin" as "roughly triangular" in outline. See "Great Salt Lake, Present and Past." Talmadge, 1900, p. 88. For a more minute description of the Great Basin by Fremont, and one of great interest, see note 1, end of chapter.

3. "The Mormons or Latter-day Saints," pp. 14, 15. Lieutenant Gunnison was of the U. S. A. topographical Engineers accompanying Captain Howard Stansbury in his government topographical surveying expedition to Utah, 1849-50. His book is written from personal observations and deductions while in the U. S. service in Utah.

4. This ancient inland sea is now called Lake Bonneville, of which more later. See notes 2 and 3 end of Chapter LXXII.

A controversy in subsequent years arose as to the relative fertility and barrenness of the region the Mormon Pioneers designated as a *habitat* for their people, echoes of which are still to be heard in controversial literature upon this subject.⁵ It is quite probable that the early settlers in the Salt Lake Valley, regarding the subject from the stand-point of the hardships they endured while planting their colonies, and instituting practically a new system of agriculture, involving the added toil and expense of irrigation to raise their crops, unconsciously emphasized the barren and desert features which made the added toil and expense of farming imperative. Also in some of their descriptions they were holding in contrast with their present semi-barren and tree-less environment the well watered, alternating prairie and woodlands of Missouri, Illinois and Iowa, fertile beyond all other lands, and the paradise of the agriculturist.

Yet, as we have seen in a previous chapter, leading Pioneers themselves did not fail to note the natural advantages of the Salt Lake Valley. Orson Pratt notes in his journal that "streams from the mountains and springs were very abundant, the water excellent and generally with gravel bottoms. A great variety of green grass, and very luxuriant, covered the bottoms for miles where the soil was sufficiently damp, but in other places, although the soil was good, yet the grass had nearly dried up for want of moisture." He also notes that streams were entering into the valley from the mountains on the east every few miles, "many of which were sufficiently large to carry mills and other machinery."⁶ Wilford Woodruff, as we have seen already, was enthusiastic in his commendation, speaking of the valley as the "vast, rich, fertile," and "glorious valley;" and as "abounding with the best fresh water springs, riverlets, creeks, brooks and rivers of various sizes."⁷ He also assures us that President Young "expressed his full satisfaction in the appearance of the

5. See articles in "Lewiston (Maine) Journal," as late as August and September, 1903, reproduced in "Defense of the Faith and the Saints," Vol. I, pp. 83-107, by the author of this History; also current anti-Mormon literature generally.

6. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for July 22nd, 1847. *Mill. Star.*, Vol. XII, p. 178.

7. See note, end of Chapter LXX, excerpt from Woodruff's Journal, July 24th, 1847.

valley as a resting place for the saints, and was amply repaid for his journey."⁸

All, however, were not equally enthusiastic in their appreciation of the valley's beauty, grandeur or fertility. The principle drawbacks noted were its treeless state, its wide stretches of alkali bottom lands, its dry bench lands, and the fact that even before it could be plowed, the land had to be irrigated. "My mother was heart-broken," writes Clara Decker Young, one of the Pioneer women of the company, "because there were no trees to be seen. I don't remember a tree that could be called a tree. . . . The ground was so dry that they found it necessary to irrigate it before plowing, some plows having been broken." She adds that to the other two women who had made the journey from Winter Quarters, "there was a sense of desolation and loneliness."⁹

The first impression of the valley upon other pioneers was very disheartening, says Lorenzo Young. Except for two or three cottonwood trees along the water course no other trees were in sight, and Brigham Young regretted the destruction of the willows and wild roses growing on the banks of City Creek because the channel of the stream had to be changed for irrigating purposes, "leaving nothing to vary the scene but rugged mountains, the sage brush and the sun flower. The ground was covered with millions of black crickets which the Indians were harvesting for their winter food."¹⁰

Samuel Brannan, meeting the returning members of the Mormon Battalion in the Sierras, in September, 1847, en route for Salt Lake Valley, said:

"The Saints could not possibly subsist in the Great Salt Lake Valley, as, according to the testimony of the mountaineers, it

8. *Ibid.*

9. Clara Young's Experiences, Ms., p. 5. Quoted by Bancroft Hist., Utah, p. 261.

10. Bancroft's History of Utah, page 262, quoting from "Early Experiences," Lorenzo Young, Ms., p. 415. The manner of gathering this harvest is thus described by Lorenzo Young (brother of Brigham): "The Indians made a corral twelve or fifteen feet square, fenced about with sage brush and grease-wood, and with branches of the same drove them into the enclosure. Then they set fire to the brush fence, and going amongst them, drove them into the fire. Afterward they took them up by the thousand, rubbed off their wings and legs, and after two or three days separated the meat, which was, I should think, an ounce or half an ounce of fat to each cricket." "Early Experiences," Lorenzo Young, Ms., 4, 5.

froze there every month in the year, and the ground was too dry to sprout seeds without irrigation, and irrigated with the cold mountain streams the seeds planted would be chilled and prevented from growing; but if they did grow they would be sickly and fail to mature. He considered it no place for an agricultural people, and expressed his confidence that the Saints would emigrate to California the next spring. On being asked if he had given his views to President Brigham Young he answered that he had." On further inquiry as to how his views were received he said in substance that the President laughed and made some rather insignificant remark, 'but,' said Brannan, 'when he has fairly tried it, he will find that I was right and he was wrong, and will come to California.'"¹¹

The doubts of Bridger concerning grain maturing in the Salt Lake Valley have already been recorded.¹²

Erastus Snow during the celebration of the thirty-third anniversary of the entrance of the Pioneers into Salt Lake Valley, said:

"When the Pioneers found it (i. e. Salt Lake Valley), it was well nigh purified by the lapse of time and the desolation of ages, and the wickedness of its ancient inhabitants was well nigh obliterated, though the curse of barrenness and desolation still existed."¹³

An anti-Mormon author declares that Brigham Young had led his people "to a land as barren as the desert of Sahara and as devoid of vegetation as the rock of Gibraltar."¹⁴

Other anti-Mormon writers desiring to depreciate the achievements of the Latter-day Saints in conquering a barren wilderness by means of ceaseless toil and irrigation, have exaggerated the natural fertility of Salt Lake Valley and represented it almost as a fertile paradise. "The Mormons found a plain road into a fertile, unoccupied country; . . . its isolation alone was the cause of its non-occupation."¹⁵

11. History of Mormon Battalion, Tyler, page 315.

12. See *ante* this History, Ch. LXX.

13. The Utah Pioneers, p. 41.

14. "The Mormon Prophet," Waite, 1866, page 5.

15. "McBride's Route of the Mormons," *Ms.*, quoted by Bancroft, History of Utah, footnote, page 258.

"There never was any barren valley [i. e. Salt Lake Valley] for it has always been one of the best watered, most easily cultivated, and reproductive vallies west of the Mississippi. The Mormons raised bountiful crops of grain the very first year of their arrival."¹⁶ "The difficulty of securing a crop here in this fertile valley with its mild and equable climate was very small in comparison with the difficulties encountered by the first settlers of New England along the bleak Atlantic shore."¹⁷

Schuyler Colfax, Vice President of the United States, in the *New York Independent*, 1870, having then recently returned from California *via* of Salt Lake Valley, refers to the credit claimed by the "Mormons" for fertilizing the desert. "For this," said he, "they claim great credit; and I would not detract one *iota* from all they are legitimately entitled to. It *was* a desert when they first emigrated thither. They have made large portions of it fruitful and productive, and their chief city is beautiful in location and attractive in its gardens and shrubbery. But the solution of it all is in one word—water. What seemed to the eye a desert became fruitful when irrigated; and the mountains whose crests are clothed in perpetual snow, furnished in the unfailing supplies of their ravines, the necessary fertilizer."¹⁸

16. Plainly an error, since the Pioneers did not arrive until the 24th of July and no planting took place except as to corn, vegetables, and buckwheat. This did not mature. See Parley P. Pratt's autobiography, p. 401.

17. A Salt Lake correspondent of the *Leuiston* [Maine] *Journal*, Aug. 19, 1903. "Defense of the Faith and the Saints," page 86-87.

18. "The Mormon Question," p. II. This pamphlet, published by the Church, is made up of a speech by the Vice-President from the veranda of his hotel in Salt Lake City, October, 1869, making certain strictures upon the religion of the Saints; Elder John Taylor's answer thereto through the press; the Vice-President's reply through the *New York Independent*; and Elder Taylor's rejoinder. Commenting upon the above passage in the text, Elder Taylor said:

"Water! Mirabile dictu! Here I must help Mr. C. out.

"This wonderful little water nymph, after playing with the clouds on our mountain tops, frolicking with the snow and rain in our rugged gorges for generations, coquetting with the sun and dancing to the sheen of the moon, about the time the 'Mormons' came here took upon herself to perform a great miracle, and descending to the valley with a wave of her magic wand and the mysterious words, 'hiccory, diccory, dock,' cities and streets were laid out, crystal waters flowed in ten thousand rippling streams, fruit trees and shrubbery sprang up, gardens and orchards abounded, cottages and mansions were organized, fruits, flowers and grain in all their elysian glory appeared, and the desert blossomed as the rose; and this little frolicking elf, so long confined to the mountains and water courses proved herself far more powerful than Cinderella or Aladdin. * * * But, to be serious, did water tunnel through our mountains, construct dams, canals and ditches, lay out our cities and towns, import and plant choice fruit trees, shrubs and flowers, cultivate the land, and cover it with the cattle on a thousand hills, erect churches, school-houses and factories, and transform a howl-

Thus in Anti-Mormon literature generally will be found an effort to discredit the achievements of the Saints in redeeming the desert lands of Salt Lake and adjacent valleys, and other regions of the Great Basin; for desert, to a large extent, they were, as much of their area remains to testify to this day. On the other hand, yielding to the desire, so natural to man, to magnify his own achievements, the triumph of his faith, or represent himself as the special object of divine care, it is possible that the Saints in their account of things have unconsciously emphasized the desert appearance and conditions of the land to which they came as exiles from better lands, out of due proportion. The fact is that there is *data* in abundance for both sides to the controversy, according to the attitude assumed by the disputant, or the view-point of the narrator. It is the two-sided shield sort of a question. Looked upon from one side the shield seemed to be gold; looked upon from the other, it appeared to be silver; for the reason that one side was gold and the other silver. To get the truth both sides had to be looked upon. It is so with our fertile-desert controversy of the Salt Lake and adjacent valleys at the time the Pioneers entered them. There was plenty of desert lands out of the reach of water by any means of irrigation that the Pioneers could then adopt; with staked plains of alkali and sand utterly barren; the whole lake district and adjacent valleys, and, for matter of that, the whole of the Great Basin, save for some mountain ranges that rimmed it, were practically treeless. On the other hand, considerable land along the east side of Salt Lake valley and in a number of adjacent valleys extending north and south for a distance of many miles, were well watered, and needed only that the streams be spread out over the intervening stretches of land in a simple system of irrigation, to make the seeming dry and barren waste fruitful. Of this fertile region, its extent and possibilities, Lieutenant Gunnison, of Captain Stansbury's Company of United States Army

ing wilderness into a fruitful field and garden? * * * What if a stranger on gazing upon the statuary in Washington and our magnificent Capitol, and after rubbing his eyes were to explain, 'Eureka! it is only rock and mortar and wood.' This discoverer would announce that instead of a development of art, intelligence, industry and enterprise, its component parts were simply stone, mortar and wood. Mr. Colfax has discovered that our improvements are attributed to water!" ("The Mormon Question")—Colfax—Taylor, p. 18.

engineers in the early days of Salt Lake Valley's settlement—1849-50—perhaps gave the most accurate description, and formed the most intelligent judgment. After speaking of the barren and desert condition of the larger part of the Great Basin, the Lieutenant then says of the fertile region:

“Along the western foot of the Wahsatch range, for three hundred miles, is a strip of alluvion, from one to two miles in width,—and in the valley of the Jordan this is widened by what can be reclaimed by irrigating from its waters; and the spots similarly situated in other valleys, furnish the only land suited to cultivation in the Utah Territory. This arises from the want of rain during the growing season; and water for the crops is only to be procured from the numerous streams that flow down the mountain gorges, fed during the spring, and into midsummer, by the melting snows. The higher mountains retain the snow, and irrigate the bases the longest time, and where the streams cannot be taken at the kanyon mouths, and led off for the farmer's use, the ground is lost to the plough. Most of these creeks are absorbed in the porous alluvion before they have reached a mile from the base, and frequently re-appear in very diminished quantity in springs, at too low a level for use, in the arid plain that borders the salt pools or lakes. The land around Salt Lake is flat, and rises imperceptibly on the south and west for several miles, where it is not broken up by the abrupt hills, and is a soft, and sandy barren, irreclaimable for agricultural purposes. On the north the tract is narrow, and the springs bursting out near the surface of the water, the grounds cannot be irrigated; but the eastern side, above the line overflow when the lake rises with the spring freshets, is fertile and cultivated between the mountain and shore.”

Estimating the population that could possibly be sustained in this fertile region within the territory of Utah, in view of the resources then in sight, Gunnison said:

“In order to estimate the probable amount of population which can well be sustained in the Territory [i. e. Utah], we may safely rely on an equivalent of 2,000 pounds of flour to the acre of the plowed lands, and, drawing the meat part of the ration, or one half, from the herds fed elsewhere, there could be fed four thousand persons on the square mile. Such a density of inhabitants it can hardly be supposed will ever be attained there;

but modified by the peculiar circumstances of the case, and social character of the people, and giving a far less amount to the mile, we may calculate that the territory of Utah will maintain, with ease, a million of inhabitants. Stretching southward from the point we have been noticing and passing over the rim of the Great Basin into a cotton-growing region, and where it is contemplated to try the sugar-cane; having abundant iron mines every where in its whole extent, and inexhaustible beds of coal in the Green River Basin—with hill pastures, the finest in the world for sheep and wool raising—with water power for manufactures on every considerable stream—there are elements for a great and powerful mountain nation.”¹⁹

After sixty-five years of growth and development within the region of country referred to, the possibilities of which in the above passage were fore cast, realization, in population at least, has not yet overtaken the anticipation of Lieutenant Gunnison; but realization is on the way; and doubtless but waits upon a further development of the wonderful resources of the inter-mountain west to bring to pass in accomplished fact all that the young officer foresaw as possibility.

NOTE 1: FREMONT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE "GREAT BASIN"—THE INTER MOUNTAIN WEST. "Differing so much from the Atlantic side of our continent, in coast, mountains, and rivers, the Pacific side differs from it in another most rare and singular feature—that of the Great interior Basin, of which I have so often spoken, and the whole form and character of which I was so anxious to ascertain. Its existence is vouched for by such of the American traders and hunters as have some knowledge of that region; the structure of the Sierra Nevada range of mountains requires it to be there; and my own observations confirm it. Mr. Joseph Walker, who is so well acquainted in those parts, informed me that, from the Great Salt Lake west, there was a succession of lakes and rivers which have no outlet to the sea, nor any connection with the Columbia, or with the Colorado of the Gulf of California. He described some of these lakes as being large, with numerous streams, and even considerable rivers, falling into them. In fact, all concur in the general report of these interior rivers and lakes; and, for want of understanding the force and power of evaporation, which so soon establishes an equilibrium between the loss and the supply of waters, the fable of

19. Gunnison, "The Mormons," pp. 15-18.

whirlpools and subterraneous outlets has gained belief, as the only imaginable way of carrying off the waters which have no visible discharge. The structure of the country would require this formation of interior lakes; for the waters which would collect between the Rocky mountains and the Sierra Nevada, not being able to cross this formidable barrier, nor to get to the Columbia or the Colorado, must naturally collect into reservoirs, each of which would have its little system of streams and rivers to supply it. This would be the natural effect; and what I saw went to confirm it. The Great Salt lake is a formation of this kind, and quite a large one; and having many streams, and one considerable river, four or five hundred miles long falling into it. This lake and river I saw and examined myself; and also saw the Wah-satch and Bear River mountains which enclose the waters of the lake on the east, and constitute, in that quarter, the rim of the Great Basin. Afterwards, along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada, where we travelled for forty-two days, I saw the line of lakes and rivers which lie at the foot of that Sierra; and which Sierra is the western rim of the Basin. In going down Lewis's fork and the main Columbia, I crossed only inferior streams coming in from the left, such as could draw their water from a short distance only; and I often saw the mountains at their heads, white with snow; which, all accounts said, divided the waters of the desert from those of the Columbia, and which could be no other than the range of mountains which form the rim of the Basin on its northern side. And in returning from California along the Spanish trail, as far as the head of the Santa Clara fork of the Rio Virgen, I crossed only small streams making their way south to the Colorado, or lost in sand—as the Mohah-ve; while to the left, lofty mountains, their summits white with snow, were often visible, and which must have turned water to the north as well as to the south, and thus constituted, on this part, the southern rims of the Basin. At the head of the Santa Clara fork and in the Vegas de santa Clara, we crossed the ridge which parted the two systems of waters. We entered the Basin at that point, and have travelled in it ever since, having its southeastern rim (the Wah-satch mountain) on the right, and crossing the streams which flow down into it. The existence of the Basin is therefore an established fact in my mind; its extent and contents are yet to be better ascertained. It cannot be less than four or five hundred miles each way, and must lie principally in the Alta California; the demarcation latitude of 42 degrees probably cutting a segment from the north part of the rim. Of its interior, but little is known. It is called a desert, and, from what I saw of it, sterility may be its promi-



ment characteristic; but where there is so much water, there must be some oasis. The great river, and the great lake, reported, may not be equal to the report but where there is so much snow, there must be streams; and where there is no outlet, there must be lakes to hold the accumulated waters, or sands to swallow them up. In this eastern part of the Basin, containing Sevier, Utah, and the Great Salt lakes and the rivers and creeks falling into them, we know there is good soil and good grass, adapted to civilized settlements. In the western part, on Salmon Trout river, and some other streams, the same remark may be made.

The contents of this Great Basin are yet to be examined. That it is peopled, we know; but miserably and sparsely. From all that I heard and saw, I should say that humanity here appeared in its lowest form, and in its most elementary state. Dispersed in single families; without fire arms; eating seeds and insects; digging roots, (and hence their name)—such is the condition of the greater part. Others are a degree higher, and live in communities upon some lake or river that supplies fish, and from which they repulse the miserable Digger. The rabbit is the largest animal known in this desert; its flesh affords a little meat, and their bag-like covering is made of its skins. The wild sage is their only wood, and here it is of extraordinary size—sometimes a foot in diameter, and six or eight feet high. It serves for fuel, for building material, for shelter to the rabbits, and for some sort of covering for the feet and legs in cold weather. Such are the accounts of the inhabitants and productions of the Great Basin; and which, though imperfect, must have some foundation, and excite our desire to know the whole.” (Fremont’s Report, pp. 275-6).

This description is important and of interest in this History because it was the account given of this region, and published in the Nauvoo papers before the exodus of the Saints from that city, and hence the description with which some of the Pioneers were familiar.

Talmage sometime Professor of Geology in Utah University, describes the Great Basin as follows: “The largest closed drainage area in North America is the Great Basin now under consideration. The region to which this name is applied is of outline roughly triangular. . . . It extends about 880 miles in greatest length running east of south and west of north, and 572 miles in extreme width from east to west. The area thus included is about 210,000 square miles, comprising the western half of Utah, the greater part of Nevada, and portions of eastern California, southeastern Oregon, southeastern Idaho and

southwestern Wyoming. The southern part of the Great Basin has not been definitely surveyed. (The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past, p. 88).

CHAPTER LXXII

THE SALT LAKE REGION BEFORE THE ADVENT OF THE "MORMON" PIONEERS

The first expedition of white men to enter this region, about which there can be no doubt, was that headed by the Catholic Fathers Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Francisco Atanasio Don Minguez, in 1776.¹

The expedition numbered ten all told, including, beside the Catholic fathers mentioned, Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, the mayor of the town of Zuni, and Don Bernado Miera y Pacheco, a retired Captain, and citizen of Santa Fe.

The purpose of the expedition was to find a route from Santa Fe to Monterey on the coast of California, then recently made a post of entry for goods shipped from Spain and Southern Mexico; and it was thought that if a road could be found direct from Monterey to Santa Fe it could be of great advantage in transporting both troops and goods to the New Mexican capital. Also it would doubtless give the priests access to other tribes of the natives, and facilitate communication among the stations the church had already established in California and New Mexico.

To achieve this purpose the expedition set out from Santa Fe on the 29th of August, 1776. From the Journal of the expedi-

1. Usually writers upon this subject begin with an expedition sent out by Francis Vasquez de Coronado from Cibola, New Mexico, consisting of twelve men led by Captain Garcia Lopes de Cardenas. There object was to find and explore a large river reported by the natives as lying far to the northwest from Cibola. It is supposed that after many days of hard travel the expedition arrived at the canon of the Colorado at a point within the present state of Utah; but could not reach the river itself because of the depth and precipitous sides of the mighty gorge through which it passed; and hence the expedition failed of its purpose and returned, after much suffering, to the main encampment of Coronado's "exploring army," in New Mexico. Because the expedition led by Cardenas did not enter the Great Basin, the region with which I am dealing, and because his expedition to the Colorado was barren of results, I have excluded mention of it in the text.

tion² it is learned that the course was northwesterly through what is now the western part of the state of Colorado, to a little above the 40th degree north latitude. Then westward until they crossed Green river (which they named Rio San Buenaventura) some distance above the mouth of what is now called Unita River (by the fathers called Rio San Damian). Thence westward over a plateau and up the Uinta, Duchesne, and Strawberry valleys; thence down what is now called Spanish Fork Canon into the beautiful Utah Lake Valley, which the fathers called "*The Valley and Lake of Our Lady of Mercy of the Timpanogotzis.*"

The expedition arrived in the valley on the 23rd of September, 1776, and remained until the 27th, during which time they left their first encampment on the stream down the windings of which they had entered the valley,³ and moving northward crossed Provo river, and thence still northward to American Fork stream, from which point they could see the outlet of the lake—the present Jordan River. They did not visit the outlet, but named it "Rio de Santa Ana." They noted the great beauty of the valley, and mention the fact that the "San Nicholas"—the name they gave to Provo river⁴—"runs through large plains of good land for planting." It has more water than the two preceding streams; and "it has large groves, and plenty of good land *if irrigated*, for two and even three large villages."⁵

The fathers established friendly relations with the natives living on the eastern shore of the lake, whom they met in great numbers. They told them of God, and of obedience, and that while it was necessary for them (the fathers) to proceed on their journey, they would send priests to teach them of Christ, and Spaniards to live among them and teach them to cultivate the

2. A translation from the Spanish of this valuable record is made, and is now published in a recent work on the "Catholic Church in Utah," by the very Reverend W. R. Harris, D. D., L.L. D., 1909, it occupies 117 pages of Dean Harris' work, pp. 125-242.

3. It was thought for some time that these Catholic Fathers entered Utah Lake Valley *via* of the stream now called Provo river, but the published Journal makes it clear that they came down the Spanish Fork Stream which they named "Aguas Calientes" (river of warm water), see Escalante's Journal, also Dean Harris' discussion of the question, "The Catholic Church in Utah," p. 248.

4. The remaining large stream of the valley, American Fork, they called "Rio de San Antonio de Padua;" "The Catholic Church in Utah," 248. See also Escalante's Journal, pp. 173-184.

5. Escalante's Journal, pp. 180-181.

soil, and raise cattle, "So that they could be able to eat and to dress like the Spaniards, to obey the law, and to live as God had commanded."⁶ The fathers required and the Indians gave them a token that they desired to be Christians. This was to be shown to the great chief of the fathers, (the king of Spain), and which when the promised priests should come, they would bring it with them for identification and to insure a friendly reception. These tokens were figures representing two of their chiefs and one other person of some authority among them painted with earth and red-ochre on three separate crosses, the idea of which had been given them by the fathers displaying the cross of the rosary, and requesting that the token be drawn or painted upon a cross.⁷ One woman with a child that was sick begged that it might be baptized, but as, on inquiry, the fathers found the child was not likely to die, they "did not find it necessary to give it the water of baptism;" but for the mother's comfort told her they "would soon return and then would baptize all, both large and small."⁸

The fathers estimated that the lake on the shore of which these people lived—Utah Lake—was six leagues wide, and fifteen leagues long; and as the "league" was the old Spanish standard, equal to about 2.41 U. S. miles, the dimensions of the lake by their estimation would be 12.46 miles in width, by 36.15 miles in length.⁹ The natives called this sheet of water "Timpanago," meaning, doubtless, "fish lake" as the natives living upon its shores and subsisting upon its abundant supply of good fish were called "Timpanogotzis" by the surrounding tribes, meaning thereby "Fish-eaters."¹⁰ The ruling chief among these people was one "Tumnianchi."

The natives told the fathers of the Salt Lake in the next valley northward, and of the wonders of it to the native mind.¹¹

6. Escalante's Journal, *The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 176.

7. *The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 179.

8. *Ibid*, pp. 178-9.

9. See *The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 180. The dimensions of the lake "north and south are about 22 miles; and its width east and west, nine, or ten miles." Elwood Mead, *Report U. S. Department of Agriculture*, 1903, p. 95.

10. Escalante's Journal, *Catholics in Utah*, pp. 181-2.

11. Among other things they represented that "its waters were very harmful and very salty; and that if one moistened any part of the body with it, he would at once feel the part bathed greatly inflamed." (*Ibid*, p. 182).

The fathers however, did not become sufficiently curious to visit this wonderful lake; on the contrary, after spending three days with the Timpanogis, they departed from the valley southward upon their search for a route to Monterey. The expedition passed through Sevier valley, thence southward through one of the most extensive and noble valleys of the state of Utah—to which the name “Escalante” is given—to the valley of the Rio Virgin, thence to the Colorado and back to Santa Fe.

While yet in the Sevier valley, being overtaken in the early October snows of that high region, the expedition lost all hope of finding a route to Monterey in any reasonable time, and hence determined upon the return to Santa Fe,¹² where they arrived on the 2nd of January, 1777.

After the departure of the Catholic fathers the next white men to make their way into the intermountain region were the hunters and trappers of the great fur companies, who contended with each other for “fur hunting territory” as since their day, to compare small things with greater ones, nations have contended with each other for spheres of commercial influence. There is evidence that representatives of the Hudson Bay Company and the North West Fur Company, as well as American fur companies extended their operations as far south and west as the Salt Lake and Utah valleys, as early as 1820-25. The advent of these will be briefly stated in chronological order as nearly as they may be followed.

Hudson Bay Company men were known to have been active in the trapping regions of the head waters of Snake river as early as 1819-1820. “Donald McKenzie” says Chittenden,¹³ “worked all through the country and around the head waters of the Snake river before 1820. Alexander Ross¹⁴ quotes a letter written by

12. This abandonment of the enterprise was not agreeable to all the party. They had come far, it was urged; they could surely find a way: why turn back? To determine the matter prayers were said and lots cast; and the lots were against seeking further a route to Monterey. This on the 11th of October, 1776. Escalante's Journal, pp. 194-7.

13. Hiram Martin Chittenden, Captain Corps of Engineers U. S. Army, and author of the “History of American Fur Trade of the Far West,” 3 Vols., 1902. A most valuable and reliable work on the movements of the fur traders in the Rocky Mountain regions.

14. Ross was a clerk of the Pacific Fur Company, with headquarters at Astoria, founded 1811.

him from 'Black Bear Lake' [the present Bear Lake of Idaho and Utah] in 1819." And then he adds: "It seems scarcely possible that so large a trapping party could have passed so much time in this vicinity without discovering Great Salt Lake."¹⁵

Peter Skeen Ogden was also "a leading spirit of the Hudson Bay Company in the decade between 1820-1830. In 1825 he set out with a party of trappers from Van Couver on the Columbia for the region round the head waters of the Snake River, then known as the Lewis branch of the Columbia. This expedition built old fort Boise, thence struck southwest until they came upon the stream now known as the "Humbolt River," in the present state of Nevada, so named by Captain Fremont, but for some time known as "Ogden's River," "which name by right," remarks H. H. Bancroft, "it should bear to-day, instead of that of Humbolt."¹⁶ Ogden also trapped on the Bear river in Cache Valley, now in the northern part of the state of Utah. Here he accumulated and cached 130 "packs" of furs, in weight about 1,300 lbs.; and variously valued at from \$75,000 to \$200,000. It is part of the trapper tradition of the intermountain west that General Ashley, one of the charter members of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, of St. Louis, and Etienne Provot by accident came upon this cache and appropriated it. Another version of the affair was that Ogden "voluntarily" disposed of his cache to Ashley to obtain relief from some dire straits into which he had fallen, for some merely nominal consideration. It is generally believed that this transaction, whether accomplished by a mess-of-potage-purchase, or downright appropriation of a rival company's goods, became the foundation of General Ashley's considerable fortune, gained in the few years that he followed the fur trade.¹⁷ Five years later Ogden was again "relieved" of

15. History of American Fur Trade of the Far West, Vol. II, p. 795.

16. History of Nevada, Bancroft, p. 37. It was also called for a time "Mary River." Chittenden says Ogden married an Indian woman from one of the tribes of the valley, calling her name "Mary;" and from this circumstance the river was called "Mary's River." American Fur Trade, Vol. II, p. 797. Bancroft says "one of Ogden's party married the Indian girl, but does not say it was Ogden" (Hist. Nevada, p. 37). The Indian wife was soon abandoned, and then the river was no longer called "Mary."

17. Hist. American Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 277. Bancroft, however, refers to Gen. Ashley as "a brave man, shrewed and honest; he was prosperous and commanded the respect of his men." (Hist. Utah, p. 21).

his furs, stored this time in the Hudson Bay station at "Ogden's Hole," a singular depression at the foot of the Wasatch range, east of the Salt Lake Shore, and in the present vicinity northerly of the City of Ogden. This time Ogden's cache of furs was "lifted" by one Thomas Fitzpatrick and associates in the employ of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.¹⁸ But while the fortunes of the fur trade in these regions were against Ogden, his name is preserved in History by being given to one of the most beautiful of all the Rocky Mountain streams, "Ogden River," a tributary of the Weber;¹⁹ to the before mentioned depression at the foot of the Wasatch, "Ogden's Hole"; and to "Ogden City," the second city of the state of Utah, beautifully situated near the junction of the Ogden river with the Weber; and for many years the junction city of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads, which formed the first transcontinental railway line in America. It is evident that this agent of the Hudson Bay Company had a station at this point before the coming of the English speaking trappers into Green River Valley in 1823.²⁰

18. One other stream, before noted, bore Ogden's name, viz.: East Canon Creek was called "Ogden's Fork." See footnote 74, chapter LXX this History. "The name 'Weber River' dates from this same period (i. e., 1825), but the identity of the individual for whom it was given is lost." Chittenden, "American Fur Trade," Vol. II, p. 796.

19. "Peter Skeen Ogden was the son of Chief Justice Ogden of Quebec, and prior to this time (i. e., 1825) had served both in the Pacific Fur Company and in the North West Company. Later he rose to the chief factor and manager. At Fort Vancouver he was second only to Douglas, who succeeded McLoughlin, and indeed at one time was chief factor in charge. He was short, dark and exceedingly tough, with an inexhaustible fund of humor, and consequently a great favorite. He died at the age of sixty, in Oregon City, 1854." Bancroft Hist. Nevada, p. 36, footnote.

20. On the representatives of the successive races of men who temporarily operated throughout the intermountain west, Dean Harris has a paragraph in his work that is very instructive: "A singular, if not a unique fact in the history of Utah and southwestern Colorado, is the change of the nomenclature of rivers, mountains and localities, indicating that members of four different races of men passed through or occupied the land for a greater or lesser period. On the mountains, rivers and lakes aboriginal man conferred original names. The Spaniard, burning with religious enthusiasm, substituted for these names those of the saints, martyrs, confessors and canonized virgins of his Church. Then came French-Canadian trappers and hunters of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, who gave French names to tribes, mountains and specified localities. Then entered on the scene, in 1823, the men of the American Fur Company, who incorporated English names with or supplanted those already bestowed by the Indian, Spaniard and French. So that on the maps of Utah and Colorado these national names remain as permanent witnesses to the presence, at one time or another, of the existence in our land of four different layers or strata of the human race." (The Catholic Church in Utah, p. 257.)-

The Rocky Mountain Fur Company was organized in St. Louis in 1823 by William Henry Ashley and Andrew Henry. Ashley was a Virginian by birth, but moved to St. Louis in 1802, at which time Missouri was still known as Upper Louisiana. Ashley was made the First Lieutenant Governor of the Territory and brigadier general of militia (whence his title of General).²¹ Henry was from Pennsylvania. The company advertised for one hundred young men to engage in its service, and in the number that responded are the names of men who became famous in the trapper-period of the intermountain country's history, such names, for example, as Etienne Provot (Provo) Jedediah S. Smith, James Bridger, and Milton and William Sublette.

After meeting with some disasters in the Upper Missouri river country in the early summer of 1823, attacks upon the expedition by treacherous Indian tribes, the trappers and traders of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company made their way to the Yellow Stone river and its tributaries, where some of them had trapped the year before. From the mouth of Powder river Edward Henry sent Etienne Provot with a party of trappers to explore the country to the southwest for trapping fields. It was on this expedition that young Provot is said to have discovered South Pass.²² He entered Green river valley, which afterwards became a celebrated rendezvous for the Rocky Mountain fur traders for many years. It is not certain that Provot pushed his way over the west-range of mountains into Utah Lake Valley that same fall, but he was on the stream which now bears his name, in 1824; and was the hero of one of the most thrilling adventures of trapper life in the intermountain west.²³

General Ashley wintered in Green River Valley 1824-25. It is generally supposed that he gave that stream its present name, calling it Green River, after a Mr. Greene of his party.²⁴ Chit-

21. History of Wyoming, Bancroft, pp. 679-80.

22. "Tradition among the traders and trappers always ascribed the discovery of this pass to Provot, and there is little doubt of the fact; but positive proof there is none. The date of the discovery was probably late in the fall of 1823." (Hist. American Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 271). I follow the orthography of Dean Harris for Provot's name, which he obtained from official records in St. Louis. Usually it is given *Provost*. See "Catholic Church in Utah," pp. 261-2.

23. See Note 1, end of chapter.

24. Bancroft Hist. of Utah, p. 21.

tenden calls attention to the fact, however, that the stream was called "Green River" before General Ashley visited its Valley;²⁵ and that Fremont says the early Spanish traders called it *Rio Verde*.

Early in the summer of 1825 Ashley and Provot met in the Green River Valley south of the Uinta Mountains, and together made their way to Utah valley, thence south to the Sevier Lake which they called Ashley's Lake.²⁶ It was during this visit to Utah Lake that "Fort Ashley"—a trading station, long since obliterated, was founded on its shores.

Ashley's meanderings this year must also have extended as far north as Cache valley, as it was during this summer of 1825 that he and Provot secured Ogden's cache of furs. The following year, 1826, Ashley brought to his station on Utah Lake a wheeled cannon, a six pounder, the first wheeled vehicle that came into the great Basin.²⁷

In this year Ashley disposed of his interests in the fur trade in the Rocky Mountains, and Jedediah S. Smith, William L. Sublette and David E. Jackson became the head of the new company. In 1830 the company was again reorganized with Milton Sublett, James Bridger and Thomas Fitzpatrick as chief factors.

25. Ashley's first visit to Green River valley was late in 1824, as he was known to be at Council Bluffs in October and November of that year *enroute* for the west. In the *Missouri Intelligence* of April 19, 1825, occurs the following: "On the 24th of August, 1824, Wm. Huddard and fourteen men left Taos and travelled west to *Green River*, probably the Colorado of the west" (American Fur Trade, Vol. II, pp. 506-7). This is the first use of the name on record, and certainly proves that the stream had been given the name, Green River, before Ashley ever saw it. Fremont says it was the *Rio Verde* of the Spaniards. "The refreshing appearance of the broad river, with its timbered shores and green wooded islands, in contrast to its dry, sandy plains, probably obtained for it the name Green River, which was bestowed upon it by the Spaniards who first came into this country to trade, some 25 years ago (i. e., 1818). It was then familiarly known as the *Seeds-Ke-dee-agie*, or *Prairie Hen river*" (Fremont's Report, p. 129). Chittenden, while admitting the reasonableness of Fremont's conclusions, says that others acquainted with the characteristics of the river maintain that it derives its name from the appearance of the water, "a pronounced green" (American Fur Trade, Vol. II, p. 779). In any event it is pretty clear that "Green River" is but the angelicized name given to it by the Spaniards. "Ashley's Fork" of Green River, flowing from the Uinta mountains southeasterly, was, of course, named after Mr. Ashley.

26. "Historians," says Chittenden, "have generally supposed that it was Utah Lake that was temporarily honored with the General's name, but this is not the case." (American Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 277). Speaking of events in 1825, our author says: "Utah Lake was then known by its present name and Seveier Lake was called Ashley Lake." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 796.

27. Bancroft erroneously places this in 1827. But Ashley, according to Chittenden, made his last journey to the mountains in 1826.

It was in 1826 also that Jedediah S. Smith with fifteen men started from Salt Lake Valley on his celebrated trapping and exploring tour through Utah and California. He went southward through Utah Valley, thence to Sevier Lake, thence southwesterly through the Mohave valley to San Gabriel, near the present city of Los Angeles, where they arrived in December. Smith and his party worked their way up San Joaquin Valley, crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains, near the head waters of that stream, in May, and returned eastward to Salt Lake Valley in 1827.

After this first trapper period in the intermountain west, the Salt Lake region began to be visited by travelers and explorers, some times in semi-official capacity, of such was Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, an army officer on leave, and who with a party of one hundred and ten trappers came into Green River Valley, in 1832, and founded a trading station; from which, and also from a station established on the Salmon River, a tributary of Snake river, he directed trapping and exploring expeditions throughout the intermountain west. One of these expeditions made up of forty men, had for its purpose the exploration of the great Salt Lake, an enterprise Bonneville entrusted to his lieutenant, Mr. I. R. Walker, who with his party left Green River Valley on the 24th of July, 1833. The expedition however, was a sad failure so far as exploration of the lake was concerned, as Walker's party but skirted the north shore, then made their way to the Humbolt River and its tributaries, where they spent some time in trapping. Finally the party made its way over the Sierras to Monterey California, thence returned to Bear River valley where they found Bonneville encamped.

The report of the expedition's exploits in California and *en route*, going and returning, reflect little credit upon this party of men. Whatever advantage arose from a wider knowledge of hitherto unvisited regions of the Intermountain and Pacific west regions, was more than counter-balanced by the acts of cowardice, injustice and murder wantonly practiced upon the natives along their route.²⁸

28. For an account of the shameful conduct of the men of this expedition, and the atrocities they practiced towards the native tribes, their needless assaults upon them, first through wantonness and then through cowardice, see "The Adven-

Partial explorations of the Great Basin region by Bonneville brought to him lasting fame since his name has been given, albeit without sufficient reason,²⁹ to that inland sea which doubtless in very ancient times practically filled the great western depression of the intermountain west, and of which Salt Lake, with the lakes in the various parts of the Basin, including the Sevier Lake in Utah, and the series of lakes on the west side of the depression, under the shadows of the Sierras, are but the diminishing remnants.³⁰ "Lake Bonneville," though long ages ago it ceased to exist as a great inland sea, will remain for all time to come a fact in the earth-surface history of our planet. Long after the well defined ancient shore lines which now attract the attention of every common observer³¹ to the various levels at which the

tures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A.," by Washington Irving, Chs. XXI and XXXVIII, XXXIX and XL. Fortunately for the reputation of the U. S. Army and for humanity, Captain Bonneville was in no way responsible for the atrocities of this expedition; and he listened to the recital of the excesses of the men who constituted it with "horror and indignation." Unhappily this was not shared by the hunters and trappers that made up his encampment. "On the contrary," writes Irving, "the events of that expedition were favorite themes in the camp. The heroes of Monterey bore the palm in all the gossipings among the hunters." (Ibid, Ch. XL).

29. "In giving his dictation to Irving Bonneville professed great interest in the exploration of Great Salt Lake, though he had done nothing to speak of in that direction. Irving, however, humored the captain, whose vanity prompted him to give his own name to the lake although he had not a shadow of title to the distinction. Bancroft's History of Utah, p. 25, *note*. On this point he cites Nidever's "Life and Adventure," *Ms.*; also Warmer's Memories in Pacific R. Report, XI, p. i, 31-4. Bancroft also reproduces Bonneville's Map of 1837. It is very inaccurate and worthless, and leads one to doubt if Bonneville himself had ever seen Salt Lake, which, on the map, is given the name, "Lake Bonneville." As the name of Salt Lake, however, it did not "take;" and "The Great Salt Lake" survives as the name of this remnant of the larger inland sea of ancient times. But while Bonneville failed to fix his name upon the modern lake, Grove Karl Gilbert, in 1876, gave his name to the ancient inland sea; because, as he supposed, Bonneville gave the first authentic description of the existing lake as a result of his exploration in 1833. See "The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past," Talmadge, p. 100.

30. The principal of these on the western side of the "Basin" are Pyramid Lake and Walker Lake. The former is thirty-two by nine and a half miles, and the latter thirty miles in length by nine in width.

31. "The shore lines appearing upon the mountain sides against which the ancient waters beat, are throughout the greater part of their extent, so distinct that even the school boy is led to think of them as old water margins. Along these terraces abundant proofs of littoral structure may be found. In places pebbly beaches tell of lapping waves, while the covering and cementing tufa attached to the worn stones testifies to chemical precipitation or deposit by evaporation. Ripple marks are as clearly shown in the sandstones and hardened clays as on the shores which are at present washed by the spring waters. Embankments, wave-cut caves, and all the other usual phenomena of littoral action exist in a state of impressive perfection." ("The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past, 1900," by Dr. Jas. E. Talmadge, p. 102). For further information on these shore lines, and the extent of the ancient inland sea, read note 2 end of chapter.

great sea stood at different epochs in its history, shall have been worn away by erosions, "Lake Bonneville" will live in the world's literature, and in the archives of geological lore.

After Bonneville the next important person in order of time to visit Salt Lake Valley was Col. John C. Fremont, on his second exploring expedition in 1843.³² His coming was important because of the descriptions he gave of the great Basin, the first reliable information about Great Salt Lake, and the topographical maps of the Intermountain and Pacific coast west published with his reports.³³

Fremont's entrance into Salt Lake Valley was from Soda Springs down the Bear River, through Cache Valley to the mouth of that stream, thence, because of the marshiness of the delta of the river, across the foot hills of the Wasatch Mountains to the Weber River, where he made an encampment, and thence proceeded with his explorations of the lake. It was on the sixth

32. It is claimed, and it is doubtless true that Father De Smet passed through and even explored a considerable portion of Salt Lake Valley in 1841. "Under date of January 19th, 1858, in a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Precis Historiques Bruxelles*, and following a description of the Great Salt Lake Basin, Father De Smet says: 'In 1841 I traversed much of this valley in my rambles in the Rocky Mountains.'" But, according to Dean Harris, "there appeared in De Smet's writings no exhaustive or detailed account of his visit to Salt Lake." And as the only thing that could give importance to his visit to Salt Lake Valley, *viz.*, that his glowing description of the valley decided Brigham Young to lead his people there for settlement, which claim has been disposed of adversely in these pages, *ante*, Ch. LXIII, note 1—it is not necessary to say more of it than is here written. Reference has also been made in former chapters to the passage of some emigrating companies that passed through the Salt Lake Valley, enroute for California, such as Captain Bartleson's company, 1841; and later companies led by Hastings and Reed (see Ch. LXIX, note 2; also Ch. LXX). Further reference to them, however, as connected with events in Salt Lake Valley previous to the advent of the "Mormon Pioneers," will not be necessary.

33. The mountaineers assumed to make light of Fremont's maps of the regions with which these men professed such an intimate knowledge. Several journals kept by the "Mormon Pioneers" report that Bridger said "he was ashamed of the maps of Fremont, for he knew nothing about the country only the plain traveled road, that he could correct all the maps that had been put out about the western world" (Woodruff's Journal, entry for June 28th, 1847). The answer to this complaint against Fremont's maps is that Bridger and the mountaineers generally were not competent judges of maps. Captain R. B. Marcy states that "Bridger was an illiterate man, tall, thin, wiry, with a complexion well bronzed by toil and exposure with an independent, generous open cast of countenance, indicative of brave and noble impulses." (Thirty Years of Army Life, p. 401). Fremont's topographical maps were chiefly the work of Mr. Charles Preuss, who accompanied Fremont on both the expeditions he reported to the government, and who had been "professionally educated" in topographical science. Of him Fremont says: "To his extraordinary skill, supported by the pleasure he felt in the execution of his duties I am indebted for the continuous topographical sketches of the regions through which we passed, and which were never interrupted by any extremity of fatigue or privation." Report, Preface, p. 5.

of September that he ascended a butte rising from the plain, and came in full view of the object of his search. Here follows his description:

“The waters of the inland sea stretched in still and solitary grandeur far beyond the limit of our vision. It was one of the great points of the exploration; and as we looked eagerly over the lake in the first emotions of excited pleasure, I am doubtful if the followers of Balboa felt more enthusiasm when, from the heights of the Andes, they saw for the first time the great Western ocean. It was certainly a magnificent object, and a noble terminus to this part of our expedition; and to travellers so long shut up among mountain ranges, a sudden view over the expanse of silent waters had in it something sublime. Several large islands raised their high, rocky heads out of the waves; but whether or not they were timbered, was still left to our imagination, as the distance was too great to determine if the dark hues upon them were wood land or naked rock. During the day the clouds had been gathering black over the mountains to the westward, and, while we were looking, a storm burst down with sudden fury upon the lake, and entirely hid the islands from our view. So far as we could see, along the shores there was not a solitary tree, and but little appearance of grass; and on Weber’s fork, a few miles below our last encampment, the timber was gathered into groves, and then disappeared entirely.”³⁴

The 7th and 8th of September were spent in preparations to visit one of the islands of the lake for the purpose of making such observations as was then possible. Among the useful things that formed a portion of Fremont’s equipage was an India-rub-

34. Fremont’s Report, p. 151. More or less sport has been made of this account of Fremont’s first view of the Great Salt Lake, especially his reference to *Balboa*. “Fremont,” says Bancroft, “likens himself to Balboa discovering the Pacific; but no one else would think of doing so. He was in no sense a discoverer and though he says he was the first to embark on that ‘inland sea’ (Report 155) he is again in error, trappers in skin boats having performed that feat while the Pathfinder was studying arithmetic.” (Bancroft’s Utah, p. 32). This is unjust to Fremont. His reference to Balboa is in respect to a matter of “enthusiasm,” not to “first discovery.” In another passage of his report Fremont expressly concedes that white trappers had visited Salt Lake’s shores before him: “Hitherto,” he writes, “this lake had been seen only by trappers who were wandering through the country in search of new beaver streams and cared very little for geography; * * * and no instrumental observations or geographical survey of any description, had ever been made anywhere in the neighboring region.” (Report, p. 132). Fremont was mistaken, perhaps, in supposing that his boat was the first to be launched upon the lake’s waters; and he the first white man to visit an island in the lake; but he certainly does not represent himself as the first white man to discover this salt sea of the Great Basin. For Bonneville’s description of the Lake, given for the sake of completeness in these early accounts of “America’s Dead Sea,” read note 3, end of chapter.

ber boat, eighteen feet long, made somewhat in form of a bark canoe of the northern lakes, capable of carrying five or six persons and a considerable weight of baggage. It was in this boat that Fremont with Charles Preuss, Christopher (Kit) Carson, Baptiste Bernier, and Basil Lajeunesse, set out from the shore at the mouth of Weber River, and landed upon what is now from the east shore of the lake at the mouth of Weber River, is from twelve to fourteen miles in circumference, "being simply a rocky hill, which rises abruptly from the water to a height of from eight to nine hundred feet. From its summit Fremont took observations and ascertained that he was in latitude $41^{\circ} 10' 42''$, and longitude $112^{\circ} 21' 05''$ from Greenwich; and on the shore of the island at an altitude of 4,200 feet above the Gulf of Mexico. After spending part of two days and a night on the island the explorer reluctantly took his departure. In addition to making his observation for the latitude and longitude, five gallons of the water of the lake was roughly evaporated over his camp fire, which yielded him fourteen pints of "very fine-grained and very white salt, of which the whole lake" he remarks, "may be regarded as a saturated solution."³⁵ In the chemical analysis of the salt thus obtained he found 97.80 per cent. was chloride of sodium—common salt.

On the 12th of September, 1843, Fremont and his party left the valley, going northward.

What white man it was who first discovered Salt Lake is still an open question. Chittenden refers to a map of North America engraved for Guthrie's new system of Geography in 1811, in which is shown a lake without an outlet in nearly the same latitude and longitude as Great Salt Lake. On this map the lake has no name, but instead the following: "Lake, etc., laid down

35. Fremont had expected to find the mountain islands of the lake fertile, but in this he was mistaken. "In the first disappointment we felt from the dissipation of our dream of the fertile islands," he writes, "I called this *Disappointment Island*" (Report, p. 156). Because of the castle-like appearance of its summit, when approached from certain quarters, the "Mormon Pioneers" called it for a time "Castle called 'Fremont's Island.'"³⁵ It is about six or eight miles Island;" but later, when Stansbury made his topographical survey of the Lake he named it *Fremont Island*. "I deemed it but due to the first adventurous explorer of this distant region," he writes in explanation, "to name it after him who first set foot upon its shores." Stansbury's Report, p. 160.

36. Report, p. 157.

according to Mr. Lawrence, who is said to have traveled through this country to California in 1790-1791."³⁷

Chittenden also notes that a party of men belonging to the Astoria Company passed near the lake in 1811-1812, and speaks of other trapper parties who were in the region of the lake before 1824, and thinks it almost incredible that whitemen should have been in the immediate region of the lake without hearing of it, and hearing of it fail to visit such a remarkable body of water as it must have been represented to be. However, coming to the only known facts about the visit of white men to the lake, he says:

"So far as undubitable proof goes the discovery of the lake is connected with the expedition of General William Ashley which penetrated these regions 1823-6. A party of Ashley's men were encamped for the winter of 1824-5 in Cache Valley, trapping on Bear River and its tributaries. Here a controversy arose as to the course of Bear River after it left the valley. A wager was laid and James Bridger was selected to follow the river and determine the bet. This he did and soon arrived at its outlet in Great Salt Lake Valley. Testing the water he discovered it to be salt, and on reporting to his companions, all assumed that it was an arm of the Pacific Ocean. But in the spring of 1825,³⁸ four men in skin boats explored its shore line and found that it had no outlet."³⁹

Summing up the present status of the question of the discovery of the lake by white men our author says:

"The situation may be concisely stated by saying, that while Bridger is the first white man whom we positively know to have seen Great Salt Lake, we do not positively know that he was the first to see it."⁴⁰

Bancroft arrives at practically the same conclusion when he at the close of his discussion of the question he writes:

"That no white man ever saw the Great Salt Lake before Bridger cannot be proven; but his being the only well authenti-

37. Hist. American Fur Trade, Vol. II, p. 794.

38. Bancroft put this event in 1826. (See Bancroft's Hist. of Utah, p. 20 and note).

39. Hist. of American Fur Co., pp. 794-5.

40. Ibid, p. 796.

cated account, history must rest there until it finds a better one."⁴¹

After the departure of Fremont nothing more of importance happened in Salt Lake Valley, except the passage through it of the several companies bound for California—already sufficiently noticed—until the arrival of the Mormon Pioneers. Their arrival of course marks the great modern epoch, not only of Salt Lake Valley, but of the entire Intermountain West. These "Mormon Pioneers" were not men of the wilderness, subsisting upon the game and such voluntary vegetable growths as will sustain life; nor did they come to identify their lives with the lives of the native tribes; they were not seeking for new hunting and trapping fields; nor were they merely a company of emigrants *in transit* for remoter objective points—"Eldorados" of human dreams; nor were they explorers for routes of travel, or in the interests of scientific knowledge. They came to Salt Lake and adjoining Rocky Mountain Valleys as the objective point of their journey, to find a refuge for their people from the storm and stress of religious persecution, which had so pitilessly beat upon them in the western states of the American Union. Their fellow exiles will come by tens of thousands to found homes, in which they hope to find peace; and communities in which they hope to find security and religious freedom. They will bring with them their women and children; their ploughs and spinning wheels and weaving looms. They will be Empire Founders, the true, and immediate benefactors of man. Their Pioneer Company has arrived on the shores of America's Dead Sea; and their leader has said, "*This is the place.*" It is for us to write down the history of their empire-founding work.

NOTE 1: THE ADVENTURE OF ETIENNE PROVOT WITH MAUVIASE GAUCHE. The adventure of Provot, referred to in the text of the History, was as follows: While encamped with his party near the mouth of the stream which ever since the adventure—1824—has borne his name, Provot was visited by the Snake-Ute chief Mauvaise Gouche, meaning, "the man with the bad left hand," a suggestive name conferred upon him by the French

⁴¹ Bancroft's Utah, p. 20, note. For description of the lake see note 4, end of chapter.

Canadian trappers of the Wasatch region many years before." Gauche received a cordial welcome at Provot's camp, and later proposed a treaty of friendship; for doubtless the Provot party was regarded as intruders into the trapping fields of the fur companies Gauche served. It was further proposed that the treaty be ratified by smoking the Peace Pipe. In the midst of this ceremony, however, Gauche appeared ill at ease, and in explanation of his restlessness stated that his guardian spirit was angry because there was "iron" in their midst at the peace talk, and proposed that each party divest themselves of their arms and then resume the pipe of peace ceremony. In this the chief and his men set the example by divesting themselves of their arms; an example which, to humor the chief's supposed superstition, Provot and his men followed. No sooner was the smoking resumed, however, than Gauche gave a signal at which the Indians with tomahawks and knives they had concealed under their blankets attacked the white trappers. So sudden and unexpected was the attack that seventeen of Provot's party were killed before any successful defense or escape could be effected. Provot, being strong and active, escaped, with four others to the mountains, and the following year joined General Ashley in Green River valley. (The story is related in Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, p. 276, as well as by Dean Harris, "Catholic Church in Utah," pp. 260-261. It will be found also in the "Letter-Book of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, Mo.," now in possession of Kansas Historical Society, and confirmed on the authority of Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, and Wm. Sublette. Chittenden, Vol. I, p. 276).

NOTE 2: SHORE LINE AND EXTENT OF THE ANCIENT INLAND SEA—LAKE BONNEVILLE. "In 1852 Lieut. E. C. Beckwith visited portions of the Great Basin in charge of a government expedition. He was impressed by the distinctness of the old beach lines, and correctly concluded that the Salt Lake had stood at a higher level. He says:

'The old shore lines existing in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake present an interesting study. Some of them are elevated but a few feet (from five to twenty) above the present level of the lake, and are as distinct and as well defined and preserved as its present beaches.'

Quoting Pacific Railroad reports—Beckwith—Vol. 2, p. 67. Talmadge continues. "But high above these diminutive banks of recent date, on the mountains to the east, south, and west, and on the islands of the Great Salt Lake, formations are seen, preserving, apparently, a uniform elevation as far as the eye can

extend,—formations on a magnificent scale, which, hastily examined, seem no less unmistakably than the former to indicate their shore origin. They are elevated from two or three hundred to six or eight hundred feet above the present lake; and if upon a thorough examination they prove to be ancient shores, they will perhaps afford (being easily traced on the numerous mountains of the Basin) the means of determining the character of the sea by which they were formed," etc.

To this Dr. Tadmage, adds: "Careful examination furnishes evidence at once abundant and conclusive that this ancient lake extended southward over the Sevier Desert, and probably over the Escalante Desert also, nearly to the Arizona line; westward over the Great Desert, into Nevada; and northward to the upper limit of Cache Valley and therefore 25 miles beyond the Idaho boundary. It formed the largest of the many flooded Pleistocene lakes of the Basin region. . . . When at its highest level, Lake Bonneville had an extreme north and south length of 300 miles, a greatest east and west extent of 180 miles; it presented an area of 19,750 square miles. The lake reached from 42 degrees 30 minutes to 37 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and was divided almost equally by the line of 113 degrees west longitude. (The Great Salt Lake Present and Past—1900—by Dr. James E. Talmadge, late of Utah University.)

NOTE 3: BONNEVILLE'S DESCRIPTION OF GREAT SALT LAKE. The description is really Irving's, from *data* by Bonneville. The noted author says: "Captain Bonneville gives a striking account of the lake when seen from the land. 'As you ascend the mountain about its shores,' says he, 'you behold this immense body of water spreading itself before you, and stretching further and further, in one wide and far-reaching expanse, until the eye, wearied with continued and strained attention, rests in the blue dimness of distance, upon lofty ranges of mountains, confidently asserted to rise from the bosom of the waters. Nearer to you, the smooth and unruffled surface is studded with little islands, where the mountain sheep roam in considerable numbers. What extent of lowland may be encompassed by the high peaks beyond, must remain for the present matter of mere conjecture; though from the form of the summits, and the breaks which may be discovered among them, there can be little doubt that they are the sources of streams calculated to water large tracts, which are probably concealed from view by the rotundity of the lake's surface. At some future day, in all probability, the rich harvest of beaver fur which may be reasonably anticipated in such a spot, will tempt adventurers to reduce all this doubtful region

to the palpable certainty of a beaten track. At present, however, destitute of the means of making boats, the trappers stand upon the shore, and gaze upon a promised land which his feet are never to tread.' "

One can well doubt if the above description is given by one who had seen the lake from its eastern side. Irving, one would judge, was not very sure of the Captain's description, for he adds: "Such is the some what fanciful view which Captain Bonneville gives of this great body of water. He has evidently taken part of his ideas concerning it from the representations of others, who have somewhat exaggerated its features. It is reported to be about one hundred and fifty miles long, and fifty miles broad. The ranges of mountain peaks which Captain Bonneville speaks of, as rising from its bosom, are probably the summits of mountains beyond it, which may be visible at a vast distance, when viewed from an eminence, in the transparent atmosphere of these lofty regions." (The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, Irving—1837, pp. 234-5).

NOTE 4: GREAT SALT LAKE. The following description of the lake is from the very carefully prepared work of Dr. James E. Talmadge, some time Professor of Geology in the University of Utah.

(a) *Area and Altitude*: "The Great Salt Lake is the largest inland water body existing within the United States west of the Mississippi valley. It lies in the north central part of the State of Utah, between the parallels 111.8 degrees and 113.2 degrees longitude west from Greenwich, or 34.7 degrees and 36.1 degrees west from Washington, and between 40.7 degrees and 41.8 degrees north latitude.

Owing to the frequent and great fluctuations in volume incident to climate variations and other conditions of change, its area is inconstant, and the recorded surveys of the water surface show great discrepancies. In general terms its present dimensions have been recorded as follows: Average length, 75 miles; greatest width, 50 miles; extent of surface, 2,125 square miles. The altitude of the lake surface is 4,210 feet above sea-level.

(b) *Islands*: "Rising from the water surface are precipitous islands, appearing in their true character of mountain peaks and ranges, the lower part of their masses being submerged. Of these water-girt mountain bodies, Antelope and Stansbury islands are the largest; and the others are Carrington, Fremont, Gunnison, Dolphin, Mud, and Hat or Egg Islands, and Strong's Knob. The islands appear as continuations of the mountain

ranges which diversify the contiguous land area, and an examination of their structure confirms this inference."

(c) *The Lake Water*: "The first recorded determination of the solids dissolved in the lake water is that of Dr. L. D. Gale, published in Stansbury's report. Gale's results together with those of later examinations are presented here.

Solid contents and specific gravity of water taken from the Great Salt Lake:

			Total Solids.	
			Grams per	
Date of	Specific	Per cent by	litre of	Authority.
Collection.	Gravity.	weight.	sample.	
1850.	1.170	22.282	260.69	L. D. Gale.
1869 (Summer)	1.111	14.9934	166.57	O. D. Allen.
August, 1873. .	1.102	13.42	147.88	H. Bassett.
December, 1885.	1.1225	16.7162	187.65	J. E. Talmage.
February, 1888.	1.1261	.....	.....	J. E. Talmage.
June, 1889.	1.148	.....	.....	J. E. Talmage.
August, 1889. .	1.1569	19.5576	226.263	J. E. Talmage.
August, 1892. .	1.156	20.51	238.12	E. Waller.
September, 1892.	1.1679	21.47	250.75	J. E. Talmage.
1893.		20.05	.....	J. T. Kingsbury.
December, 1894.	1.1538	21.16	244.144	J. E. Talmage.
May, 1895.	1.1583	21.39	247.760	J. E. Talmage.
June, 1900.	1.1576	20.90	241.98	H. N. McCoy and Thomas Hadley.

The composition of the solid matter existing in the lake water is a subject of importance. Some results of analyses are here given.

Analyses of Salt Lake Water, acids and bases theoretically combined; expressed in percentage of weight of samples:

	Gale.	Allen.	Bassett.	Talmage.	
	1850.	1869.	1873.	1885.	1889.
Sodium chloride	20.20	11.86	8.85	13.586	15.743
Sodium sulphate	1.83	0.93	1.09	1.421	1.050
Magnesium chloride	0.25	1.49	1.19	1.129	2.011
Calcium sulphate .....	....	0.09	0.20	0.148	0.279
Potassium sulphate .....	....	0.53	....	0.432	0.474
Potassium chloride .....	....	....	1.89	....	....
Excess of chlorine .....	....	....	0.20	....	....
Total	22.28	14.99	13.42	16.716	19.557

(d) *Life in the Lake*: Of animals but few species have been found in the lake, but of these two are represented by swarming numbers. Among the animal forms already reported as com-

mon to the lake, the writer has confirmed the presence of four: (1) *Artemia fertilis*, Verril; (2) the larvae of one of the Tipulidae, probably *Chironomous oceanicus*, Packard; (3) a species of Corixa, probably *Corixa decolor*, Uhler; (4) larvae and pupae of a fly, *Ephydra gracilis*, Packard. . . . Of the lake animals, the *Artemia fertilis* (or *Artemia gracilis*) commonly known as the brine shrimp, exists in greatest numbers. They may be found in the lake at all seasons, though they are most numerous between May and October.

CHAPTER LXXIII

INITIAL EXPLORATIONS: THE FOUNDING OF SALT LAKE CITY.

The day following the arrival of President Brigham Young in Salt Lake Valley was the Sabbath. Accordingly religious services were held both in the forenoon and in the afternoon; and a number of the Apostles addressed the assembled pioneers. The sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered, the emblems used being broken bread and water.¹

The burden of the discourse seems to have been expressions of gratitude that the Lord had led them to so goodly a land. Not a single death had occurred, and only a very few of their cattle or horses had been lost. "The brethren were exhorted," says Wilford Woodruff, "to hearken to counsel, do away with selfishness, live humbly and keep the commandments of God, that they might prosper in the land. . . . There was a universal feeling of satisfaction with the valley from the men that spoke upon the subject; said they were joyfully disappointed, that the whole appearance was altogether better throughout the valley than they had anticipated, or even dreamed of. At the close of the meeting President Young though feeble addressed the meeting for a few moments and informed the brethren that they must not work on Sunday nor hunt nor fish on that day."² In a word,

1. These are always the emblems of this ordinance except on rare or special occasions, when wine is used. At an early date—August, 1830—in the development of the Latter-day work, it was revealed to Joseph Smith that water would be acceptable in this ordinance, Doc. & Cov., sec. 27. And under this divine sanction this practice has obtained in the Church with the exceptions noted above.

2. Woodruff's Journal, entry for July 25, '47.

the law proclaimed in the Salt Lake Valley that day, was the law of God; and men were admonished to keep that law. The ten commandments and the Christian ethics were practically proclaimed to be in force in the new home of the Saints. It was upon this occasion also that Brigham Young proclaimed the "land law" of the community namely, that "no man should buy or sell land. Every man should have his land measured off to him for city and farming purposes, what he could till. He might till it as he pleased, but he should be industrious and take care of it."³

The principle of this first "land law" of Utah will be recognized as identical with that which actuated the great leader at Garden Grove, when he said there, in effect, that no man should hold more land than he could cultivate; "and that if a man would not till his land, it should be taken from him."⁴

Subsequently it was announced there would be no private ownership in the water streams; that wood and timber would be regarded as community property. It was also determined that only "dead timber" should be used as fuel, thus hoping to foster the growth of timber as its scarcity was the most serious obstacle then in view to the settlement of the valley. On these three laws, the prevention of monopoly in land; community ownership of the water, and of the timber, rested the prosperity of the early colonies in Utah. It was a necessary act of justice under the circumstances, this "land law." There was a community of nearly 20,000 Latter-day Saints on the banks of the Missouri River and enroute across the plains; they were engaged in a common purpose; they were united as exiles by the same decree of eviction from their homes—from their country. To permit the Pioneers, or the advanced companies of such a community to seize upon and monopolize the resources of the vallies to which they were migrating, would be a manifest injustice, hence these mandates issued from their wisest men take on the nature of statesman-like measures, wholly justifiable and absolutely necessary to safe guard the interest of all.

The day following the first Sabbath in the Salt Lake Valley

3. Ibid.

4. *Ante*, this History, Ch. LXII.

found the Pioneers anxious to explore the country surrounding their first encampment. But as all the activities of the camp proceeded in orderly manner, ten men, including all the members of the twelve present—eight—were designated to make explorations. Some went into the canons on the east side of the valley in search of timber. John Brown and Joseph Mathews crossed the Utah outlet and went to the west range of the mountains which they reported as some fifteen or sixteen miles distant, and the plain between the outlet and the mountains “covered with wild sage (*artemisia*) and destitute of fresh water.” President Young in company with several of the Twelve and others went northward and visited both the hot and warm springs, the former about five miles, and the latter less than two miles distant from their encampment. Several miles north of their encampment they ascended a peculiarly shaped, mound-like mountain for the purpose of getting a view of the valley that might reveal more of the general character of it than several days of exploring journeys might give. And this indeed was the case; for from its summit they noted the Utah Outlet from the point where it enters the valley at the south to where it empties its waters in the Salt Lake a little to the northwest of their view point. After noting this Elder Woodruff adds: “We also had a good view of the Salt Lake through our glasses, and many rivers and creeks running through the valley.”⁵ Before leaving the mound-like summit of the mountain on which they stood, some one suggested that here would be a good place to raise an ensign to the nations, whereupon Brigham Young named the mountain “Ensign Peak.”⁶ Because of the mountain being so named it was claimed in later years that the Pioneers on that day raised upon Ensign Peak the national flag of the United States, the stars and stripes. There is no evidence that they did any such thing. Had such an event happened it certainly would have been recorded in the journals of some of the men present. Brigham Young who gave the mountain its name, and makes an entry of that fact in his journal, says nothing of any

5. Woodruff's Journal, entry July 26, '47.

6. I ascended a hill north of the City site, which I named “Ensign Peak.” History of Brigham Young, Bk. 3, Journal entry for July 26, '47. This is all he says of the incident.

flag incident. Neither does Wilford Woodruff, who is given to recording details in his journal, and relates the incident of naming Ensign Peak at length.⁷ The fact of the loyalty of the Mormon Pioneers to their country rests upon a foundation so broad and deep, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, that it does not need fiction to sustain it. They honored their country's flag also; for before the close of the year 1847 it was raised within the fort erected on the present site of Salt Lake City, and the Mormon poetess, Eliza R. Snow Smith, had celebrated it in her "*Ode to the Flag.*"⁸

7. The following is the complete entry upon the subject in Elder Woodruff's Journal: "26th, Monday * * * We * * * went north of the camp about five miles, and we all went on to the top of a high peak in the edge of the mountain, which we considered a good place to raise an ensign. So we named it "Ensign Peak," or Hill. I was the first person that ascended this hill which we had thus named. Brother Young was very weary in climbing to the peak, he being feeble [had not yet recovered from effects of mountain fever]. We then descended to the flat, and started north to visit some hot sulphur springs."

8. Eliza R. Snow arrived with one of the first companies following the Pioneers, and entering Salt Lake Valley in September and October. "Soon after our arrival in the valley," she relates, "a tall liberty pole was erected, and from its summit (although planted in Mexican soil), the stars and stripes seemed to float with even more significance, if possible, than they were wont to do on Eastern breezes." This inspired the "Ode" mentioned above, of which the following is an excerpt:

"I love that flag! When in my childish glee—
A prattling girl, upon my grandsire's knee—
I heard him tell strange tales, with valor rife,
How that same flag was bought with blood and life.

"And his tall form seemed taller when he said,
'Child, for that flag thy grandsire fought and bled!
My young heart felt that every scar he wore,
Caused him to prize that banner more and more.

"I caught the fire, and as in years I grew,
I loved the flag; I loved my country too. * * *

"There came a time that I remember well—
Beneath the stars and stripes we could not dwell!
We had to flee; but in our hasty flight
We grasped the flag with more than mortal might;

"And vowed, although our foes should us bereave
Of all things else, the flag we would not leave.
We took the flag; and journeying to the West,
We wore its motto graven on each breast."

("The Women of Mormondon," Tullidge, 1877), Chapter XXXVIII. For the author's arrival in Salt Lake Valley, see Biography in L. D. S. Biographical Encyclopedia, pp. 693-697.

As the flag was raised most likely as early as October, 1847, and the treaty of peace which closed the War of the United States with Mexico was not signed at the village of Guadalupe Hidalgo until Feb. 2nd, 1848 (Hist. U. S., Morris, p. 325), the Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake Valley did raise the U. S. flag upon Mexican soil.

“The Ensign” that these Latter-day Saint Pioneers had in mind, and of which they had frequently spoken *enroute*, was something larger and greater than any national flag whatsoever; and what it was meant to represent was greater than any earthly kingdom’s interest, and I speak not slightly of earthly kingdoms either; but this “Ensign” in the minds of the Mormon Pioneers concerned not one nation, but all nations; not one epoch or age, but all epochs and all ages. It was the sign and ensign of the Empire of the Christ; it was a prophecy of the time to come when the kingdoms of this world would become “the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and forever.”⁹

On the occasion of calling the Pioneers camp together for reproof and instruction while yet on the Platte River, on the memorable 29th of May,¹⁰ President Young referred to this “Standard of Zion.” Wilford Woodruff after relating how the President addressed himself to the few non-members of the Church present in the camp, and how they would be protected in their rights, but they must not introduce wickedness into the camp, “for it would not be suffered,” he said:

“He then spoke of the standard or ensign that would be reared in Zion to govern the kingdom of God, and the nations of the earth, for every nation would bow the knee and every tongue confess that Jesus was the Christ; and this will be the standard—*‘The Kingdom of God and His Law.’* . . . And on the standard would be a flag of every nation under heaven, so there would be an invitation to all nations under heaven to come unto Zion.”¹¹

This was the significance of naming Ensign Peak on that 26th day of July, 1847. It was the gathering of Israel to the Standard of Zion that the Pioneers were thinking of, as is evidenced by many subsequent sermons in which the texts were—

9. Revelation xi, 15; also Daniel ii and vii.

10. See *ante*, this History, Ch. LXIX.

11. Woodruff’s Journal, entry for May 29th, 1847.

“And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established in the tops of the mountains, and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.”¹²

“And it shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall set his hand the 2nd time to recover the remnant of his people. . . . And he shall set up an Ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the out casts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.”¹³

“All ye inhabitants of the world, and dwellers on the earth, see ye when he lifteth up an Ensign on the mountains; and when he bloweth a trumpet, hear ye.”¹⁴

12. Isaiah, ii, 2, 3.

13. *Ibid*, xi, 11, 12.

14. *Ibid*, xviii, 3. These and other texts from Isaiah were woven into a discourse by Orson Pratt the Sunday following, *viz.*, August 1st, 1847. (Woodruff’s Journal, entry August 1st.) Some years later this “Zion Ensign” idea inspired Parley P. Pratt’s muse in the following verses:

ZION’S STANDARD.

Lo! the Gentile chain is broken,
Freedom’s banner waves on high;
List, ye nations! by this token,
Know that your redemption’s nigh.

See, on yonder distant mountain,
Zion’s standard wide unfurled,
Far above Missouri’s fountain,
Lo! it waves for all the world.

Freedom, peace and full salvation
Are the blessings guaranteed,
Liberty to every nation,
Every tongue, and every creed.

Come, ye Christian sects, and pagan
Pope and Protestant and Priest,
Worshippers of God or Dagon,
Come ye to fair freedom’s feast.

Come, ye sons of doubt and wonder,
Indian, Moslem, Greek or Jew,
All your shackles burst asunder,
Freedom’s banner waves for you.

On the 28th of July Brigham Young and the main exploring party crossed the Utah Outlet, which they found to be a slow, meandering stream not so clear as the streams issuing directly from the mountains. It was three feet deep at the ford, and about six rods wide. The party followed the California wagon trail to the south end of the Salt Lake, to a point afterwards called Black Rock, taking the name from a large rock of ebony hue that rises abruptly from the clear waters of the lake. Here the company took their first bath in the lake and were surprised at the buoyancy of the water.¹⁵

Turning the point of the mountain range (The Oquirrh) our explorers came into a valley opening southward, which they judged to extend twelve miles; and beyond, still southward, a narrow opening into another valley or plain. Returning to their noon encampment at the point of the Oquirrh range, they spent the night, and the next day moved southward along the east base of the mountain where they had camped, but found no water. Orson Pratt ascended a rise of ground some three miles beyond where the rest of the company stopped, and was rewarded with a view of Utah Lake and valley, which he judged to be twenty miles distant. "The number of streams putting into the Utah outlet from the east, between the lakes," he writes, "appeared to be about nine, while several other streams, from one to two miles in length, appeared to put into these nine, all of which afforded a fine opportunity for irrigating the valley east of the Outlet."¹⁶

Cease to butcher one another,
Join the covenant of peace,
Be to all a friend, a brother,
This will bring the world release.

Lo! Our King! the great Messiah,
Prince of peace, shall come to reign;
Sound again, ye heavenly choir,
Peace on earth, good will to men.

15. "We all bathed in the salt water, which is fully saturated with salt: its specific gravity is such as to buoy us in a remarkable manner." (Pratt's Journal, July 27th). "The waters of the ocean bear no comparison to those of the lake, and those who could not swim at all," says Erastus Snow, speaking of this first bath, "floated upon the surface like a cork, and found it out of their power to sink." (Journal, entry July 27th, '47). See note 4, end of Chapter LXXII.

16. Pratt's Journal, entry for July 28th, 1847. These are streams on the east side of Salt Lake Valley.

Meantime the two brethren, Joseph Hancock and Lewis Barney, sent eastward into the mountains to look for timber returned after a two days tour and reported "an abundance of good timber, principally pine, balsom fir, and a little cottonwood; access to the same very difficult."¹⁷

These brief exploring expeditions seemed to have convinced President Young that the best possible site for the beginning of a settlement had been chosen by the advanced company of Pioneers; for on his return to the encampment in the afternoon of the 28th, he at once inaugurated measures for the founding of a city. "Some of the brethren talked about exploring the country further for a site for a settlement; I replied that I was willing that the country should be explored until all were satisfied, but every time a party went out and returned I believed firmly they would agree that this is the spot for us to locate."¹⁸

Late in the afternoon, accompanied by Elders Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, Ezra T. Benson, all members of the apostle's quorum, and all the apostles then in the valley, accompanied also by Thomas Bullock, the President's secretary, Brigham Young "designated the site for the temple block between the forks of City Creek, and on motion of Orson Pratt it was unanimously voted that the Temple be built upon the sight designated."¹⁹

The apostles at the same time decided to lay out the city in blocks of ten acres with streets eight rods wide running at right angles; with twenty feet on each side given to side walks. The blocks were to be divided into lots containing one and one quarter acres in each. It was decided also to build but one house on a block, and that twenty feet back from the line and in the centre of the lot—"That there might be uniformity throughout the

17. Journal, entry of Brigham Young, July 28th, '47, Hist., Bk. 3, *Ms.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 3, Journal, entry for July 28th. This was before the survey of the city was made. Wilford Woodruff of the event writes: "We walked from the north camp to about the centre between the two creeks [forks of City creek], when President Young waved his hands and said, 'Here is the forty acres for the temple (we had conversed upon the subject of the location of the temple previous to this) and the city can be laid out perfectly square north and south, east and west,'" (Journal, entry for July 28th).

city." One of the advantages of this plan, it was urged, would be the security of the city from fire in the event of fire breaking out at any one point. It was further determined that "Upon every alternate block four houses were to be built on the east, and four on the west sides of the square, but none on the north and south sides. But the blocks intervening were to have four houses on the north and four on the south, but none on the east and west sides. In this plan there will be no houses fronting each other on the opposite sides of streets, while those on the same side will be about eight rods apart, having gardens running back twenty rods to the centre of the block."²⁰

"It was moved and carried that there be four public squares of ten acres each laid out in various parts of the city for public grounds." "Let every man," said President Young, "Cultivate his own lot and set out every kind of fruit and shade trees and beautify the city."²¹

The city was named, *City of the Great Salt Lake*. Temple square was the initial center for naming the streets, and the streets around the temple block were called, respectively, North, South, East and West Temple Streets; the others to be named as required, First North, Second North, First West, Second West, and so following.

This plan of laying out the city was submitted to the whole camp in a sort of "town meeting" held in the evening on the site designated for the temple; and as each proposition making up the general plan had been submitted to vote in the council of the Apostles, so now was each proposition presented to the camp, which "passed all of the above votes unanimously, as they are recorded."²²

20. The reader will recognize that this plan of city-building is nearly identical with that given by Joseph Smith for the city of Zion in Jackson County, Mo. See this History, Ch. XXII. It is observed also in this same chapter that the general plan of building "cities of Zion" was followed in laying out all the settlements of the Saints in the inter-mountain west; and will doubtless always be followed, except where the nature of the site will render it impracticable.

21. Woodruff's Journal, entry July 28th, '47.

22. Journal Wilford Woodruff, entry for July 28: I am following throughout, in this account of founding the city, the journals of President Young, Wilford Woodruff, and Orson Pratt, with which the other annals generally agree, but where slight differences occur, I accept the above named as authority.

On the 31st of July, Orson Pratt began the survey of the City "The latitude of the northern boundary of the Temple block," he writes, "I ascertained by meridian observations of the sun, to be 40 deg. 45 min. 44 sec. The longitude, as obtained by lunar distances, taken by the sextant and circle, was 111 deg. 26 min. 34 sec., or 7 hours, 25 min., 46 sec. west of Greenwich. Its altitude above the level of the sea was 4,300 feet, as ascertained by calculations deduced from the mean of a number of barometrical observations taken on successive days."²³

The base line of Orson Pratt's survey was on the south east corner of the Temple Block, and government officials afterwards adopted it as the base meridian line.²⁴

Subsequently blocks of land for farming and pasturing purposes were laid off outside the city limits in five, ten and twenty acre plots respectively, the smaller plots lying nearest the city boundaries, the others following in the order of their size. All this, of course, to prevent monopoly of advantage, and possible attempts at speculations in town lots or nearby farming lands.

From time to time there came modifications of this general plan; as, for example, before the survey of the city was completed it was decided that it would be "more convenient" to have the Temple Block ten rather than forty acres, and it was reduced accordingly. Also as the city extended into the sharp hills on both sides of City Creek, it was found that the ten acre blocks, with their one and one quarter acre lots, were inconvenient because of the nature of the land in that part of the city; and the blocks were reduced to two and a half acres. Some further irregularities from even this modification of the general plan had to be admitted; as also in the matter of having but four houses built on one side of a block, and these on alternating sides of the blocks; but very generally the first plan was adhered to in the early decades of the city's history, and even now gives a uniqueness to the city that distinguishes it from other American

23. Journal of Orson Pratt, entry for July 31st, 1847. *Star*, Vol. XII, p. 180.

24. From Geo. W. Dean's Observations in 1869, taken at the Temple Block, the results were lat. 40° 46' 2"; long. 111° 53' 30". *Rept. Coast. Survey*, 1869-70. In taking lunar distances for longitude, it is usual to have four observers, but Orson Pratt had no assistant; hence probably the slight discrepancy. (Bancroft's Utah, p. 264, note.).

cities, and very much contributes to that air of spaciousness and breadth of conception in the ground plan of it that prophecies its coming greatness, and is at the same time a testimony of the largeness of the ideas of those who were its founders.

Historic Views and Reviews

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S MOTHER

A FRIEND requests me to give for publication (if I can do so) a sketch of the family of Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham Lincoln, says Dan Ford. She tells me she has read every history of Abraham Lincoln, and considers it very strange that nothing has ever been written by the historians of the President's mother, except that her name was Nancy Hanks.

The historians never made any effort to trace the pedigree of the family. Raymond, in his "Life and State Papers of Abraham Lincoln," declares nothing is known concerning her ancestry or early life. He merely mentions that she was a Virginian by birth. The name Hanks is rare in America, yet we have a straighter line on the pedigree of the Hankses than we have of the Lincolns. Beyond the grandfather of Abe Lincoln, we know absolutely nothing of the family pedigree.

The earliest account we have of the Hankses is their first appearance in Gloucester County, Va., in 1673. In deed book No. 6, land grants, page 472, 1673, is recorded the grant of 264 acres to Thomas Hanks. And on page 476, same year, 1673, is recorded a patent to Thomas Hanks for 500 acres. In the early colonial history of Virginia, a person who paid for the passage of a person who came to settle in Virginia was entitled to a land grant of several hundred acres. This was why he was given a grant of land. The patent of 500 acres which is recorded was land paid for in cash or tobacco, which was the circulating medium in Virginia. In course of time, the family increased and emigrated westward. We next hear of them in Orange County, 140 miles west of Gloucester. Among the marriages recorded

in Orange Court House on March 26, 1803, is Rodney Hanks, son of Reuben and Elizabeth Hanks, to Alice Chandler. But they didn't stop at Orange Court House. We find a family of them in Rockingham County, Va., in 1790, and another in Shenandoah County. In 1780, Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of President Lincoln, removed to Kentucky from Rockingham County, Va., and we are certain that the Hanks family was with the Lincolns during that journey. The next account we have of the Hankses is in 1806. In that year, in Kentucky, Thomas Lincoln (father of the President), married Nancy Hanks.

The next account of the Hankses was at the battle of Tippecanoe, in Indiana, November 7, 1811. We find the names of Peter and James Hanks. Peter was killed. He was a member of Captain Berry's company of Militia from Kentucky. James belonged to a company of mounted riflemen and was from Kentucky. They may have been brothers, and if so, I am certain they were brothers of Nancy Hanks. In six years after the battle of Tippecanoe, Thomas Lincoln removed from Kentucky to Indiana.



LOSSING'S WASHINGTON LETTERS

There is an interesting story connected with the original manuscript of the circular letter addressed to Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia, by George Washington, which is probably the most valuable of the autographs in Part I of the late Benson J. Lossing's collection of Americana, auctioned off by the Anderson Company recently. The letter consists of twenty-one pages folio, and is dated "Head Quarters, Newburgh," June 12, 1783. The body of the letter is in the handwriting of Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., who was secretary to Gen. Washington. It is thus described in the Lossing sale catalogue:

A remarkable manuscript of supreme interest, not merely as marking a great epoch in the life of Washington, but as outlining the principles by which he considers the United States should

be governed to take its place among the nations of the world. As a literary production nothing else that Washington ever wrote approaches this document, and it was evidently carefully thought over and worded. Washington, in referring to it, always termed it his "legacy."

It is the farewell letter which the Father of his Country addressed on June 12, 1783, to the Governors of the thirteen states. In it he urges oblivion of local prejudices and policies, and advocates an indissoluble union, a proper peace establishment, and a sacred regard to public justice, in other words, provision for the payment of the public debt.

Early in 1862 Dr. Lossing began the compilation of a work on the civil war, published in 1866-69. He visited the southern states to gather material for the book. Shortly before his death on June 3, 1891, at Dover Plains, N. Y., he sold at auction a number of his historical autographs. Mr. Burns, a short time before his death, said that after the demise of Dr. Lossing, Mrs. Lossing turned over to him another lot of valuable material, which he catalogued with great care, bringing out the fine points of each important item. The sale was announced to be held at Libbie's, in Boston. The finest and most valuable autograph of this collection, Mr. Burns said, was one of Gen. Washington's circular letters to the Governors of the states. It was addressed to Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, who was elected Governor of Virginia in 1782.

Much interest was manifested by collectors, Mr. Burns said, and on the day of the sale a goodly number were present in the auction rooms. The general opinion was that the Washington letter to Gen. Harrison was the most desirable item of the lot.

Ere the auctioneer began the sale, however, Mr. Burns said, a gentleman came forward who said that he was from Virginia, that he was a State official, and that he was present to assert and maintain Virginia's sole ownership of the Washington letter. He denied, Mr. Burns said, Dr. Lossing's right to it. It was addressed to Benjamin Harrison, he declared, not in his private capacity, but in that of Governor of the State. It was, therefore, a State paper, and no one had just claim to it except Virginia.

Mr. Burns said that he tried to convince the gentleman that

he was in the wrong, but without avail. He told him that it had been given to Dr. Lossing by the Military Governor of Virginia after the close of the war, and that, therefore, it belonged to Dr. Lossing. The Virginian would not acquiesce. He said that no one except Virginia herself had any right to the letter. Neither President nor Congress, nor Military Governor, had any authority to give away what belonged solely to the State or Virginia.

Many years had elapsed since this incident, and Mr. Burns said that he did not quite clearly recollect what followed this unlooked for visit and action of the Virginia official, but his impression was that it either seriously interfered with the success of the sale or led to its postponement, and that the Virginian returned home with the precious missive.



FORT MCHENRY ABANDONED

The bugle reveille call which has echoed across the Patapsco river and through historic Fort McHenry for the last one hundred and thirty-seven years was sounded on July 20 for the last time, marking the abandonment of the old garrison as a military post. The soldiers stationed there were sent to Fort Strong, Mass.

The old fort, over which floated the flag that inspired Francis Scott Key to write "The Star Spangled Banner," has long been regarded by the War Department as useless as a means of defence. Hereafter it will be in charge of a civilian caretaker.



HOW WITCHES WERE TRIED

When the witchcraft delusion of 1692 seized the province the people would not wait for the workings of the established tribunal of justice. It was too slow to suit them. No doubt they feared that it would be "reactionary" or inclined to be too respectful to the letter of the law. So they cried out for a special

court to hustle along the trial of the witches, and Gov. Phipps meekly yielded to the clamor and named seven judges to conduct the trials.

It was distinctly a popular court, and was controlled absolutely by the popular will. Not a single one of the seven judges was a lawyer. Two of the judges were clergymen, two were physicians, and three were merchants. The common law was thrown aside, rules of evidence were ignored, and the judges and juries were left untrammelled by any "quibbles of the law" to follow their own feelings and the popular will.

Says Washburn in his "Judicial History of Massachusetts:" "The trials were but a form of executing popular vengeance. Juries were intimidated by the frowns and persuasions of the court, and by the outbreakings of the multitude that crowded the place of trial, to render verdicts against their own consciences and judgment." He cites one case, that of Rebecca Nurse, in which the jury actually had the courage to bring in a verdict of not guilty. Whereupon "the accusers raised a great outcry and the judges were overcome by the clamor." The jury was sent back, returned with a verdict of guilty, and the woman was accordingly executed. Thus promptly and effectively did the popular will succeed in bringing about the judicial decision it wanted.



FIRST ASTOR HOME DOOMED

In the course of demolishing old buildings to make way for modern structures there is about to be pulled down one of the most interesting buildings, historically, in the Dominion.

It is the house in which the Astor family had its birth; that is, so far as the laying of the foundation stone of the fortune of the family is concerned. The original Jacob Astor lived in this house, which looked out upon the river, before the view was obscured; counted his skins in the basement; counted, also, no doubt, his profits, as one of the originators of the fur company, which proved a formidable rival to the Hudson Bay Company and made Montreal its headquarters.

SEPTEMBER, 1912

AMERICANA

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GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM
When 1st Lieut. and Adj. 176th Regt., N. Y. Vols.

AMERICANA

September, 1912

War-time Prisons in Virginia

The Personal Experiences of

GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

Adjt. and Bvt.-Major 176th N. Y. Vols.

THE following record of my sojourn in the winter of 1864-65 in Libby and in Danville prisons was prepared under the instructions of the Commander of the New York Commandery of the Loyal Legion for publication in the volume of Reports of the Commandery. Forty-eight years have elapsed since the winter here described, and I cannot undertake to say that my memory can be trusted for all of the details or incidents.

My experience as a prisoner in Virginia began on the 19th of October, 1864, a day made famous by Sheridan's decisive victory at Cedar Creek. At the time of the battle, my regiment, which belonged to Grover's division of the 19th Army Corps, occupied a position on the extreme left of the line that had been assigned to the corps. On our left, the field sloped down to the Shenandoah Pike, while on the farther side of the pike, a rising ground extending to the flank of Massanutten Mountain was occupied by the 8th Corps. The line of the entire army faced southward, the only direction from which an attack seemed to be possible.

NOTE.—This account of personal experiences in Virginia prisons is taken by permission from the author's recently published book, "An Experience in Virginia Prisons During the Last Years of the War." G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Within the preceding thirty days, Early's army had been sent whirling through Winchester, and had been driven back from its works on Fisher's Hill, with a serious loss of men and guns. It seemed certainly very unlikely that these beaten, tired, and hungry troops could venture an attack upon Sheridan's lines.

We were aroused in the foggy darkness by the sound of firing across the pike on our left. We realized that something was wrong with our friends in the 8th Corps, but it was impossible to see across the road, and during the first hour our understanding of what was happening was very confused. In falling into line on the alarm, we faced, as said, to the south, but when round shot came rolling along our trench from across the pike, it was evident that the attack to be repelled was to come from the east or from the southeast. Our brigade was wheeled to the left so as to face, or nearly to face, the pike, and before long the rest of the division wheeled in like manner, forming an extension of our line. A field-battery of four or six guns had been placed a little in advance of the position of my regiment. The first shots across the road had disabled some of the horses, and the men had dragged in behind our infantry line all of the guns but one. A brigade-commander (I think it was Colonel Dan. Macauley of the 11th Indiana) called from his horse for men to go out and drag in the last gun. A group of us started across the field, but just as we went forward, Macauley received a shot through his chest. The men in the line, finding that the "Butternuts" were working across the pike to the north, fell back, if I understand rightly not under any orders but with the instinct of veterans to keep themselves from being out-flanked. When I reached the gun, I found that there were not enough men with me to make it possible to move the piece across the rough ground, and we were almost immediately cut off by an intervening line of the enemy. The slope was an uncomfortable resting-place, as for a brief time it was receiving a scattering fire from both sides. We lay down flat on the rough turf, and while I was not even at that time a large man, I remember having the uncomfortable feeling, as the zip, zip of the balls went over our heads, that I was swelling upward as big as an elephant. We had, however, but few minutes to be troubled with

this phase of the situation, as the second line of the enemy soon came sweeping across the road and promptly took possession of our little group.

In the course of an hour or so, these prisoners, aggregating, I think, ten or eleven hundred, were stood up in line, and certain non-commissioned officers, delegated for the purpose, "went through" each individual of the line with a thoroughness and precision that indicated previous practice. They took what under the circumstances was the most serious loss for men who had a long march before them, our shoes. I was pretty well down on the left of the line and some time before my turn was reached I was able to note what were the articles that were being appropriated. I realized that a considerable march had to be made and I was not at all happy at the idea of being obliged to do my tramping without shoes or with the fragmentary apologies for shoes that the "rebs" were chucking back to the Yankees in exchange. I took my knife and made some considerable slashes in the uppers of my shoes. The result was that they were not considered worth appropriating and they fortunately held together during the march and for some time thereafter. The only other man in the line, as far as I noticed, who saved his shoes was a young staff-officer of the 6th Corps, Lieutenant Vander Weyde. I had observed the youngster before because he had small feet and wore patent leathers with which he seemed to be well satisfied. The smallness of his feet saved for him his pretty boots. These were taken off two or three times by the examiners but no one was able to put them on, and with a half-indignant good nature, the last examiner threw back the articles with the words, "Here Yank, you can keep your damned pretty little boots." As far as I can remember, VanderWeyde had the only decent looking boots to be seen that winter in my division of the prison.

While, on the ground of our being hurried southward, we were somewhat encouraged about the final outcome of the battle, it was not easy to believe that what had seemed in the early morning to be so thorough a defeat could have been changed into a victory. In fact, it was weeks, before, through the leakage of news into the prison, we got knowledge of the actual outcome

of the day. In the course of the evening, our guards remembered to scatter among us a little hardtack taken from one of our own commissary wagons, but the ration was very small for the amount of marching that had to be done with it. Sometime before midnight, in company with VanderWeyde with whom I had fallen into "chumming" relations, I made a break for liberty. We remembered the region through which we had marched not long before as "ruthless invaders," and it was our idea to strike for a dry ditch which was on the farther side of a field adjoining the road. We bolted just behind the nearest guard and took him so far by surprise that his shot and that of the guard next in line did not come near enough to be dangerous, and we succeeded in tumbling into the ditch which we found unfortunately to be no longer dry. There was, in fact, an inch or two of water in the bottom. There was nothing to do but to lie quiet and wait until the column of prisoners and guards had passed. We were disappointed, however, to find that the sound of the marching continued for an indefinite period; and in fact pretty soon there were added to the tramp of feet sounds from a long series of wheels. It was evident that the trains, or such of the wagons as remained of the trains, were being moved southward. Then there came a rumble which seemed like that of field-guns. While we were puzzling in our minds as to whether the whole army could really be on the retreat, the question was answered in a most unsatisfactory fashion. Not only were Early's troops marching southward but they were going with such urgency that the road was not sufficient for their purpose. They were straggling into the fields on both sides, and a group of two or three, too tired and too sleepy to watch their steps, tumbled into our ditch on top of us. They said things and so did we.

It is my memory that the tramp to Staunton took the better part of three days. I recall our arrival in early morning in the main street of the little town, at breakfast time or at what seemed to us ought to be breakfast time. The prisoners were huddled into a little square in front of the inn and we were near enough to hear the sound of the rebel officers at breakfast. After what seemed to us a very long wait, the commissary came out on the little balcony of the hotel with some assistants bearing a few box-

es of hardtack. These boxes were thrown over from the balcony into the square in such fashion that they broke as they fell and the officers on the balcony enjoyed the spectacle of the prisoners scrambling for their breakfast. Later in the day, we were put into box cars and started on the journey for Richmond. There was but a single track and our train was switched frequently to allow of the passing of passenger trains and supply trains, so that our progress to Richmond was slow. The officers were marched across the town to Libby Prison where the captain of our guard secured a receipt for us from Sergeant Turner, while the men were taken over to Belle Isle.

The first of the prison functions was the stripping of every man to the skin for the purpose of a further appropriation of any valuables that he might have succeeded in concealing. In this fresh search, I lost \$150, that I had sewn into the inside of my shirt.

We were interested to see the adjutant of the prison noting down in a little memorandum book the sums taken from each man. "It will be all right, gentlemen," he said reassuringly, "these moneys will of course be returned to you." This ceremony completed, we were shown into the general living room on the top floor of the Libby building. It is my memory that at this time, October, 1864, the prison was full, but not crowded. Floor space was made for us under the supervision of one of our own officers who took upon himself the responsibilities of what might be called quartermaster's duties. At our request, Vander Weyde and myself were given floor space together, and we then took an account of our joint property. I had picked up en route (I do not recall where) a small piece of blanket and I had also succeeded in retaining a broken pocket-knife. My chum had a tin cup and a pocket-comb. These things were held in common. As personal appurtenances we had been fortunate enough to save our tooth-brushes which the examining sergeant had not considered worth appropriating. These tooth-brushes later became noteworthy. It is my memory that there were not more than a dozen or so among about 350 officers. The possessors placed their tooth-brushes through the button-holes of their blouses; partly because there was no other safe or convenient storage

place, and partly perhaps to emphasize a sense of aristocratic opulence. We became known as the "tooth-brush brigade." My chum, with some protest from me against the using of my knife, did some artistic carving on the handle of his brush, producing with no little skill a death's head and a skeleton.

In Libby, as later in Danville, the prisoners, comprising as said, only commissioned officers, maintained an organization and ordinary discipline. We accepted as authoritative the orders of the senior officer in the prison, and this officer associated with him two or three men who divided up between them responsibilities for keeping order, for assigning quarters, for adjusting difficulties, etc.

The Libby ration in these last months of 1864 comprised soup made out of inconspicuous little beans, and a chunk of corn bread. During the close of our sojourn in Libby, the soup part was cut off and the ration reduced itself to the corn bread. The corn bread as baked was marked out into squares, but for some reason each square of corn bread was a ration not for one but for two. The messes, therefore, were subdivided into pairs and the chums had to arrange between themselves each morning for the division of the flat chunk into two portions. My chum and myself took turns in cutting that chunk into two pieces. On one piece was laid the broken knife and the man who had done the cutting then called to the other fellow, who stood with his back to the cake, to say whether he would have it "with" or "without" (the knife). Whichever piece one got, the other always looked a little bigger.

I should not venture to estimate with any precision the size or the weight of the chunk of corn bread which came to us once a day. Some of us went through the form of cutting our chunk into three pieces with the idea that we would make three meals out of it; but it was very difficult to avoid eating up the three meals within the first hour even though we knew that we should have to wait until eleven o'clock the next morning for another chunk.

In reply to complaints that were from time to time submitted the prison officers had nothing to say but that it was the best they had and that the Yankees had better be thankful that they

got anything. I judge that by December 9, 1864, it must have been a very difficult task indeed for the rebel commissary-general to secure by his two lines of single track roads, one of which was from time to time being cut by our raiders, sufficient food to supply the army and the townspeople.

The abiding place through the night and through the greater part of the day was, as said, the strip of floor allotted to each. It is my memory that at this time Libby was not so crowded but that each man could have the advantage of putting his head back against the wall. Later, when we were transferred to Danville, the arrangement of space required four rows of sleepers, two with their heads to the wall and two with their heads to the centre. At the point of the wall in Libby where my own head rested (more or less restlessly) I found scratched (apparently with the point of a nail) on the two or three bricks the names of previous occupants of the quarters, names representing in most cases men who had "joined the majority." I naturally added, in order to complete the record, my own name on a brick a corner of which was still free. Some years after the war, a correspondent wrote to me from Richmond that he could if I wished send me this autographed brick in consideration of the payment of \$5.00. As, however, there would have been no difficulty in scratching my name on another brick, I did not think the purchase worth while.

The ship-chandlery of William Libby & Son was, as we all know, placed close to the edge of the James River, so that goods could be landed directly on the Libby pier. Looking across the river from the back windows of the prison, we were able, during the nights of December, to see from time to time the flashes of the guns from the lines of the Army of the James. We used to make our artillery officers study out the line of fire and give us their opinions as to whether they did not believe the flashes were getting nearer.

The prison had by this winter been so protected that there was no chance of any further attempts at escape by tunnelling. The cellar floor through which Rose and his associates had dug their tunnel in 1863 had been masoned over and under the later arrangement of the guards it would have been impracticable in any case to secure admission to this floor without observation.

A most important part of the protection, however, was given by the addition to the prison guard of a magnificent blood-hound.

There would have been no chance of an undiscovered tunnel while that dog was within reach.

On the first Tuesday in November, it was decided to hold in the prison a presidential election. I could not but fear, that in an election which was to indicate their approval or their disapproval of the management of the authorities in Washington, a majority of their votes might naturally be cast against the re-election of Lincoln. The men who had planned this test election trusted their comrades, and their confidence proved to be justified. When the vote was counted, it was found that we had re-elected Lincoln by about three to one. Years afterwards, I learned from Robert Lincoln that the report of this vote in Libby Prison, reaching his father months later, was referred to by the President as the most satisfactory and encouraging episode in the presidential campaign. His words were in effect: we can trust our soldiers. The votes had of course no part in the official count but they were, as Lincoln understood, important, as showing the persistent courage and devotion of the men.

One night late in December, we had an interruption which, while at the time fatiguing, gave ground for encouragement. We were ordered up at two o'clock in the morning and were hurried across the town and packed into box cars for Danville. We gathered, from the exchange of a word or two with the guards who permitted themselves to talk, that there was a scare at headquarters about the advance of our lines. The journey was exhausting partly because, in the hurry of getting rations for us, the authorities had found nothing more convenient than salt fish and the train was allowed to stop but seldom. But thirsty and tired as we were, we were happy with the thought that perhaps our men really were getting into Richmond.

We had quarters assigned to us in Danville in a tobacco warehouse, the windows on the southern end of which overlooked the River Dan.

The tobacco warehouse might have made a fairly comfortable abiding-place if it had been properly fitted up and cared for.

But the glass was broken from many of the windows, and Danville lies high enough to give many cold days and many still colder nights in the months of winter. The building comprised three floors, a ground floor and two upper floors. The sojourning of the prisoners was restricted to the two upper floors. The lower floor was used merely as a thoroughfare to the yard and for the water parties who were permitted once or twice a day to bring water from the river. It was the duty of the guard who protected the yard and of his fellow who patrolled the lower floor, to see that no prisoners were permitted to linger either in the yard or on their way back to their own floor. The two floors were divided so that by the beginning of the winter there were about two hundred on each floor. At the outset, the men were arranged in two rows with their heads to the wall and two rows with their heads to the centre. The additional comfort of the position by the wall was to some extent offset by the fact that it was nearer to the cold wind that came through the broken windows.

At either end of the room, was an old-fashioned stove fitted for the burning of wood, and as the weather grew colder, sleeping positions near the stove advanced in value. Exchanges of berths were made for property consideration. A piece of blanket, a pair of shoes more or less dilapidated, or a pocket-knife, constituted the exchange currency. The wood for the stove was brought in from the wood-pile in the yard by the prisoners, the work being of course done under guard.

The supply of wood was kept pretty scant and there were long hours when the fires were out and when our application for permission to bring in more wood received no attention. It is my memory that in Danville the daily ration was brought down to corn bread alone. Danville was at this time one of the great sources of supplies for Lee's army at Richmond, and the one-track road was very fully employed with the trains from the South bearing to Lee's army such supplies as were still to be secured in the almost exhausted Confederacy.

My selection of a chum proved fortunate in one way that I could not have anticipated. VanderWeyde was clever with his pencil and some portraits that he had sketched of the guards

attracted attention not only in the prison but with some of the officers outside. He was fortunate enough to be invited by one or two officers who had homes in town, to go to their houses and to sketch wife or daughter. He objected properly enough that his blouse was shabby and his trousers disreputable and also that in the absence of soap he was not fit for the presence of ladies. The officers wanted the portraits, and the result was that the fortunate VanderWeyde secured a bath with real soap, and a jacket and a pair of trousers that held together and that gave him in the midst of the rags with which he was surrounded, the appearance of an aristocrat.

While the occupations of the day gave very little opportunity for exercise, we found ourselves fairly sleepy by nightfall.

It was the custom, after we were all recumbent and there was quiet across the floor, for two or three of the men who had good voices and good memories to raise a song in which the rest of us joined as far as we knew how or when there was an easy chorus. We began jubilantly enough with *Marching through Georgia* and other verses of triumph or hopefulness, but in the later months the more frequent selections were such airs as *Mother, Will You Miss Me? Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*, and *Home, Sweet Home*.

Some of the improvised choirs had memory also of the words and airs of psalms and hymns and the singing of these constituted the only religious exercises of which I have memory. The singing went on until from the commander's corner of the room came the word "taps," after which we were all expected to be quiet and to get what sleep we could.

It was not easy to find occupation for the long hours of the day. In the earlier weeks of the winter, the more energetic of us drew lots for the opportunity of making the trip to the river, a hundred yards or so away, for the bringing in of water. The water parties comprised from six to eight men who were watched over by two or three guards. Under the earlier arrangement, each man carried a pail, but later as we grew weaker, a pail full or a pail half full was more than one fellow could manage and the routine finally came to be for two men to carry together a pail about half full of water. There was also occa-

sional requirement for parties to bring in wood from the wood-pile but in this luxury we were sadly stinted. There was for a time some activity in chess-playing.

Our chess-boards were made out of a couple of pieces of plank which we had been permitted to secure from the guard-house, and the squares on which had been marked out with charcoal. The chessmen had been carved, with no little labour, out of pieces of our fire-wood.

Something was done in the way of occupation or amusement by the more active-minded in telling stories by turn, stories which comprised everything from actual reminiscence to the vaguest fantasy. There were also instituted a few classes of instruction. In company with three or four others, I took lessons in Spanish from one of the officers who was a Mexican by birth. He succeeded in securing, through the kindness of one of the guards, a second-hand Spanish grammar which was divided up into as many pieces as there were students. Some of us, therefore, had to begin the grammar in the middle and some tackled their Spanish language from the final pages; but before the book was absolutely worn out, we did make some progress.

I myself undertook a class in German, but as I had no grammar or text available I had to work entirely from memory. I was assisted in my undertaking by a scholarly young captain, William Cook, who had had time before entering the service to get through some years at least of his course at Yale. Cook knew no German, but he had a good working knowledge of grammar. We did make some progress so that before the work of the class was given up there was quite a fluency of utterance, most of it pretty bad as far as the German was concerned, but still giving evidence of application. I recall that towards the end of our class work, Cook and I decided to give a banquet to our class. The feast could be described as Barmecide as there was nothing to eat and nothing to drink. But we gathered together on the floor as if we were sitting about a well-appointed table. From my end of the table I read out, as if from a menu, a list of the courses which as given were certainly most appetising and in the wording of which no expense was spared. The associate host from his end specified the wines which were to accom-

pany each course. After going through the motions of eating and drinking, the two hosts read in turn the toasts of the evening which had to be responded to by the men called upon. It was the instruction that the utterances were to be made in German with the permission when no German word was available, to fill in that gap with an English term.

During the first two years of the war, there was for the majority of the Northern regiments very little difference in class between the men in the ranks and the commissioned officers. The men in the ranks and the officers came from practically the same family groups and the same average occupations and they differed but little in average intelligence. As the war progressed, however, the ineffective officers who had gotten their commissions either by accident or by influence, were largely weeded out. The men who secured commissions during the last two years were much more largely men who were promoted from the ranks as they had shown capacity. They were naturally on the whole of better education, and of larger intelligence than the men who remained in the ranks and they possessed a better will power.

The senior officer in the Danville Prison during the larger part of the winter was Brigadier-General Joseph Hayes, of Boston, who had been in command of a regular brigade in the 5th Corps. It is my impression that Colonel Ralston who had commanded one of the regiments from Central New York, acted as associate with Hayes.

The officer next in rank to Hayes was a plucky and headstrong general named Duffié. Duffié had, I believe, seen service in France and was, I was told, a capable cavalry officer. He was ambitious, vain, and if crossed, somewhat hot-tempered. His qualities would not have been impressed upon my memory if it had not been for his responsibility in the direction of an attempt to escape, an attempt which was badly planned and badly executed and which cost the lives of several of our prisoners and the wounding of several more.

At the time of this attempt which was, I think, in the middle of January, 1865, General Hayes was ill and had been removed to the prison hospital. News had come from Richmond to the Confederate commander of our prison that a band of Yankee raiders were operating somewhere to the west of Danville, and

were probably intending to make a dash at certain of the bridges on the railroad running southward. A couple of companies, comprising perhaps 150 men, had been brought into Danville by train as the first contingent of a force which was expected to head off the raiders and to protect the bridges. We knew the number of this force because they were made the guests of the prison guard and in going into the guard-house for their noon-day meal, they had stacked their muskets within sight of our prison windows. It occurred to some one that if those 150 muskets could be seized, we should have enough force to overcome, at least for the moment, the prison guard, while the unarmed owners of the muskets would be helpless. Duffié (the officer highest in rank) jumped at the idea and called for volunteers to make a rush for the muskets.

The opportunity for getting at the muskets was to be made by the sending out of a party for water and at the moment of the water party's return, a rush was to be made with a column of a hundred or more, at the open door of the basement. The difficulties of the immediate execution of the scheme were serious. In order to get to our own lines on the northeast, it was necessary to make our way through Lee's army. The only direction in which we were not likely to encounter rebel forces was the southwest towards the mountains of North Carolina. That plan meant, however, finding our way without food, with very little clothing, and with hardly any shoes, through many miles of wilderness. Such a body of men could have been easily overtaken by a comparatively small force of cavalry. To most of us the plan seemed, therefore, to be an absurdity.

Duffié listened to the objections and then asserted his authority as commander. "I order the attempt to be made," he said, "and I call upon the men who have not forgotten how to obey orders, to follow." With such a word there was of course no alternative. A hundred and fifty of us fell in and received our instructions. Three or four were detailed to overpower and to choke senseless the guard who had charge of the prison yard, while another group was detailed to take care in the same manner of the guard or of the two guards who patrolled the lower floor. Other men were detailed to make up the water party, a

party which being left outside of the building, would, if we succeeded in breaking out, be in no little peril. The signal was given and the rush at the guards was made. One man was successfully stifled, but one of the two, or of the three (I have forgotten the number) succeeded, before being finally jumped upon, in getting out a yell of warning. The yell came just as the door had been opened to let in the water party. The guards outside made a rush at once to close the half-opened door and the column from within, taken by surprise, was a little late in making the counter rush. The guards succeeded in getting the door closed and the bar up, and then, putting their rifles through the gratings of the windows, they fired one or more volleys upon our men assembled on the lower floor.

We carried our wounded upstairs as the men from the guard-house rushed out and took possession of their muskets. There was nothing more to be done and the Confederate colonel in charge realized that the attempt was over. He marched in a little later with his adjutant and a couple of guards and had the wounded carried to the hospital.

In the course of the winter, a plan of escape of a very different character was attempted. In looking out of the upper windows of the prison, we could see on the side towards the open country a big ditch which was not many feet from the prison wall. The suggestion came to some that if by means of a tunnel from the basement, one or more men could reach the ditch, they could lie quiet until an opportunity came to slip away in the darkness towards the open country. The first difficulty was how to get to the cellar for the necessary work on such a tunnel. We had noted on first visiting the prison yard a pair of folding doors, barred from the inside, which from their position evidently gave entrance (or as barred, refused entrance) to the cellar. One of the guards was posted in the yard and it was his duty to remain there through the two hours (or later, as the watches were extended, through the four hours) of his service. The walls about the yard were high enough to make impossible any scaling, and even if an exceptionally tall prisoner could have gotten across, he would have found himself under the fire of the muskets of the guards who partrolled about the building. The guard having

charge of the yard got into the habit, therefore, as the winter progressed and the weather became more severe, of taking his station inside the door of the lower floor. This absence of the guard gave us the opportunity of testing the bar which held closed the doors leading into the cellar. It proved to be wooden and a hand-saw having been produced through the nicking with a penknife of the edge of an old table knife, the bar was, on one stormy evening when the wind made a sufficient noise, sawn through with no great difficulty. The pressing open of one of the folding doors revealed, as it could only reveal, an unknown darkness. We had, of course, no means of knowing how deep below the floor of the cellar might be. Lots were drawn for the duty or the privilege, of finding out, and a couple of men tumbling over found the drop not more than four feet. A third man snuggled into a corner of the yard to give warning when the coast would be clear so that the interlopers could make their way back again. It was only on stormy nights that this invasion of the cellar became possible but there were in the course of a month or two enough such nights to make possible a beginning of the work on the tunnel. The operation had to be conducted entirely by "feel" as the cellar was in total darkness. The floor of earth was, fortunately, fairly dry. A point was selected midway along the outer wall, that is to say the wall towards the open country, at which by measuring by "feel" the length of the bigger stones in the foundation, the prospector secured, or thought he had secured, a stone big enough as an archway for the tunnel. The excavating instruments comprised a couple of tin plates and a few shingles. The ground was fortunately soft, and as the cellar was not visited, for this particular tunnel there was no such difficulty as was encountered with most of the attempts at tunnelling from prisons, in disposing of the excavated earth. In the course of weeks, progress was made, but a miscalculation as to the length of the superlying stone or as to the strength of the stone, came near to costing the life of one of the tunnellers and resulted in the necessity of beginning the work over again. The stone fell in and caught our man somewhere on the shoulders. A hurried signal was given out to the yard and at considerable risk of discovery (fortunately there

was a heavy sleet on) several men tumbled in and succeeded in lifting the stone and in bringing out in a half-smothered condition their unfortunate comrade. He had his face washed and was slipped upstairs without being observed, and the next day, after a more careful examination as to the safety of the foundation stone above, a fresh beginning was made.

In the course of a few weeks, this tunnel was projected out beyond the building and beneath the walk along which marched the prison patrol. We had of course no spirit level and there was no light with which it could have been utilized. The working of the line of excavation was, therefore, a matter of feel and of guess-work, and it is not surprising that under the circumstances the engineering failed in precision. The tunnel had been permitted to slant upwards too close to the surface of the ground. As a result of this mischance, one of the guards in an early morning hour (fortunately at a time when no workers were busy in the cellar) fell through. Frightened as he was (I believe his arm was broken) he yelled murder, and the guard next to him fired off his piece. Then followed a general firing of pieces into the darkness and the turning out of the entire prison guard. We understood afterwards that the alarm had come to the guard-house that the Yankees were attacking the town, a belief that was shared by that number of the prisoners who had not been invited to take part in the work of the tunnel and who had no knowledge of the scheme. When the poor guard whom we had unwittingly entrapped was pulled out of the hole, there was of course no difficulty in tracing the line of the tunnel. The folding doors admitting to the cellar were closed with an iron bar, and we judged that the guards whose duty it was to hold post in the yard must have received a pretty sharp reprimand from their superiors.

In December, 1864, when it seemed as if the resumption of general exchanges might still be indefinitely delayed, an agreement was arrived at between the authorities on either side for the paroling of certain officers who could be used for the distribution among their fellow-prisoners of supplies delivered for the purpose under flag of truce. As the death-rate in the Southern prisons continued to increase, there was naturally an in-

creasing pressure brought to bear on the part of the kinsfolk of the prisoners upon the authorities in Washington to do something either to bring about exchange or in some other way to save the lives of the men. The authorities in Washington, carrying out promptly the agreement arrived at, paroled a Confederate general, Beale of Georgia, who was permitted to select as associates three or four other officers. A number of bales of cotton were sent up from Savannah, under flag of truce, only a week or two before the capture of the city by Sherman had transferred to the United States the title to all the cotton remaining in the city. This cotton was sold on the cotton exchange in New York for the account of General Beale, and the price being in the neighborhood of \$1.50 a pound, he secured sufficient funds for his purposes. The authorities in charge of the Confederate prisons acted more slowly, and it was not until February that parole papers were given to General Joseph Hayes of Boston, and to three officers selected by him as his associates. I was very fortunate, having but a slight personal acquaintance with the general, to be taken for his junior assistant in the work to be done in Richmond. The senior was Colonel Charles Hooper of Boston.

Hayes, Hooper, and myself were shipped back to Richmond on a train which seemed to be still slower than that by which we had three months back journeyed to Danville. At the close of February, 1865, the single track road from Richmond to Danville was in very bad condition, while the pressure upon the rails must have been very considerable. We were given quarters in Richmond in a tobacco factory, not very far from Libby Prison, and a coloured corporal from Weitzel's brigade was paroled to wait upon us. It was my duty as the youngest to report two or three times a week at the pier on the James where I met the officer in charge of our flag of truce boat, and to give a receipt to him for the supplies brought up. We had during the winter been permitted to write letters to be forwarded across the lines to friends at home. The restriction was that the letter should be on a half sheet and that it should be handed open to the adjutant of the prison. If the contents of the letter did not meet the approval of the adjutant, it was not to be forwarded. It was only

occasionally that we could secure scraps of paper on which to write, but I managed to place in the hands of the prison adjutant a letter to the home folks about once a week. It was only on my return home in March that I learned that but five of my letters had gotten through.

The supplies delivered to me from the flag of truce boat comprised blankets, blouses, shirts, trousers and shoes. I finally got hold of a couple of darkies who were too old to be of any particular service for the Confederate officials. These darkies got an old hand-cart, which, while too small to make the transport expeditious, answered the purpose fairly well. It was necessary for me to accompany each trip of the hand-cart, as otherwise the colored men would have been promptly arrested as thieves and the goods would have been lost.

I had promised, under the conditions of my parole, to go nowhere about the city excepting between the three prisons, Libby, Castle Thunder, and one other building, the name of which I have forgotten. General Hayes learned that in a building, not far from our quarters had been stored a number of packages sent through the lines for our prisoners, and he directed me to visit the building and to give him a report. I found some thousands of packages which had accumulated for years and many of which had crumbled almost to dust.

I made out lists of the names and addresses that could still be deciphered on the wrappers of the parcels which were not too much decayed and the contents of which could still be of value to the prisoners. These lists I compared with the rosters of the prisons and in the chance that some of the roster names might not have been correctly entered, I took pains more than once to call out the names at the roll-call of the prisoners. I recall but one or two instances in which I was able to connect the men with the parcels.

We had expected to make a long sojourn in Richmond, but within a fortnight of our arrival, we got news that the long-delayed exchange had been finally declared. When we heard that a date had been fixed for our departure, I reminded the general that we had still to receive from the adjutant of Libby Prison a report concerning the moneys that had been taken from us. I recalled the memorandum book in which the amounts had been en-

tered and the promise that these should be returned to us at the close of our imprisonment. The general was himself interested to the extent of some hundreds of dollars and he promptly instructed me to present his compliments at the office of Commissioner Ould and to ask for an accounting. At this late period in the campaign, the commissioner was a difficult man to find, but after various calls I finally succeeded in securing an interview and in giving him the message. I took the liberty of adding a statement of my own personal interest in the matter. One hundred and fifty dollars loomed very large in my memory and it certainly represented hard earnings. The commissioner seemed embarrassed. "Adjutant," he said "the officer who had charge of that part of the prison business in October last is now dead, and I am sorry to say that there was some confusion in his accounts. Of course, however, you gentlemen ought to have your money. I will look into the matter and see what can now be done." I reminded the commissioner that we were to leave for the North at an early date and asked if I could call the next day. I got an appointment but I did not find my commissioner.

And it was only after delivering through his secretary a rather peremptory note from the general, that I did succeed in securing a further word with him. "The general directs me to say, Commissioner, that he will take to Washington such report in regard to these moneys as you see fit to send. If the Confederate authorities instruct us to say that they are unable to trace the record of these deposits and to make good the promise given by the prison officials, the general will carry such statement to Washington." "No, no, Adjutant," said the commissioner with some annoyed hesitation. "Of course, we do not wish any such report to go out. It is a mere matter of detail and bookkeeping. The money will of course be forthcoming." "I am instructed, sir," I replied, "to call again to-morrow in case I can not secure your report to-day." I did call on the morrow, but to no purpose. I called for the last time the day following and waited until within fifteen minutes of the departure of the boat; but finally decided that home and freedom were of more value than a claim against the Confederate government for \$150, and leaving my name, I made a quick run for the wharf.

The long delay in arriving at the exchange had, as I understand, been due to two causes. The Southerners had from an early period in the war taken the stand that negro troops who had been, or who might have been, slaves should not be exchanged, and the same prohibition was to hold against the white officers of the negro regiments. Lincoln took the ground (very properly) that all the United States soldiers must be protected alike, and that until the negro troops and their white officers could be assured of receiving as prisoners the same treatment that was accorded to the other prisoners and could be placed upon the same basis for exchange lists, the exchange should be stopped. The block of the exchange on this ground continued for a series of months, and then, under the pressure of requirement from the generals demanding to have their ranks filled up, Davis conceded the point and consented to the re-establishment of exchange arrangements. He agreed also, at least in form, to give to the negro prisoners and to the officers of their regiments the same treatment that was accorded to the others.

The exchange was later blocked under a policy for which, I believe, Secretary Stanton must take the responsibility. In one of his letters of 1864, he pointed out that it would not be good policy to send back to be placed again on the fighting line, 70,000 able-bodied Confederates, and to receive in exchange men who, with but few exceptions, were not strong enough to hold their muskets. Stanton, while arbitrary, was not a cruel man. I doubt whether his judgment in this matter was sound, because it was not fair to our own prisoners or to the army as a whole. The conclusions that he reached, after having in his hands reports from the Northern prisons and reports of the examination of the men who were being returned from the Southern prisons, were undoubtedly however based upon a pretty clear understanding of the actual conditions. The exchange finally brought about on the first of March, 1865, was probably the result in the main of pressure brought to bear upon Stanton, through President Lincoln, on the part of the relatives of the prisoners and of the leaders in the field who took the ground that our soldiers were entitled to protection and to a fair chance for life, whether they were prisoners or not.

I learned when reporting for duty (by letter to the Adjutant-General in Washington) that my regiment which still belonged to Grover's division of the 19th Army Corps, was stationed at Newbern, North Carolina. The transportation given to me from the Quartermaster's Department, fixed a route from Norfolk through the Great Dismal Swamp Canal, and then by way of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds to Morehead City. This was a part of the South that I had never visited, and I found the journey novel and interesting. During the weeks of my sojourn in Newbern, smallpox broke out in this contraband camp, and it became necessary for the protection of the town and of the soldiers, to shut off at once and absolutely communication between the contrabands and the Post and settlements. A cordon of sentries was drawn around the camp, and no one was allowed to pass one way or the other. Food was placed by the sentries at points at which it could be secured and taken into camp by the negroes, but there was at the time at least no medical aid and, according to the gossip that leaked out through the sentry lines, the stronger men and women were taking possession of the food, and those who were sick were dying from starvation as well as from the pest. Impressed with the accounts of the conditions and of the misery under which the colored community was suffering, two representatives of the Christian Mission, Vincent Colyer, an artist of New York, with an associate whose name I have forgotten, had an interview with General Terry and the post surgeon and offered to take charge of the contraband camp. The surgeon emphasized, naturally, that if these men once crossed the picket line they could not come back to civilization until the pest had been stamped out, but that condition Colyer, of course, already understood. The authorities were well pleased to accept the service and sacrifice offered, because, under the existing conditions, the risk of infection for the town and for the troops was very serious. Colyer and his friend made their way across the lines, taking with them medicines and supplies. They arranged for a trustworthy system for the sending out of reports of conditions and for the receipt from day to day of the further supplies that would be required.

Colyer organized, under threat of severe punishment for any disobedience, the men who were strong enough into gangs for

burying the dead, for caring for the sick, and for doing the cleaning up that was urgently required. The women, encouraged by the presence of trustworthy authority, took charge again of the cooking and washing. In the course of a few weeks' time small-pox was stamped out and Colyer and his associate, who had fortunately escaped the contagion, were free to return to civilization.

Early in April, Terry received orders to abandon the posts and garrisons on the coast, and to collect every fighting musket that he had available to make a line between the Goldsboro region and the Virginia border. Sherman was coming North from Columbia, and was anxious that Johnston, who was, with his old-time skill and persistency, making the best possible defensive fight with his retreating army, should be prevented from joining forces with Lee. Sherman had had news of the breaking of the lines in front of Richmond, and he realized that the purpose of Lee and Johnston would be to get together for a final struggle somewhere in the neighborhood of Danville. The battalions available were gathered in from the coast and marched through the State towards Goldsboro and my command was finally placed at Durham Station.

The Commissary-General, in ransacking the country for supplies, reported that he found substantial stores of corn-meal and of corn on the cob in various warehouses in Goldsboro and in other stations in the region. These had, of course, been collected for the needs of the army in Virginia.

Terry was able to make some show of troops between Goldsboro and the roads to Virginia; but the line was very thin and could not have withstood any well-directed attack from an army like Johnston's. Sherman kept himself, however, so close on the heels of the retreating Confederates that General Johnston, plucky and persistent as he was, had found it impracticable to break away northward and our thin line was never attacked.

A fortnight before the dramatic event at Durham Station, there came to our troops the overpowering sorrow of the news of the death of Lincoln. The work to which the Great Captain had devoted his best years and had now sacrificed his life, was in a sense completed. He had carried out his pledge of maintaining the life of the Nation.



Photo by C. T. Johnson, Jaffrey, N. H.
The Baker Homestead, Over 160 years old

The Historic Baker House

BY M. L. BRADFORD

ONE of the most historic buildings in southern New Hampshire is the old Baker House, in Jaffrey, a structure which is over one hundred and sixty years old. Never has a lamp or stove been used in the house, candles and fireplaces being utilized instead, while the methods of cultivating the surrounding land have always been the most primitive in character.

According to local tradition, Samuel Woodworth's poem, "The Old Bucket," was inspired by the old well at the Baker homestead. Regarding this tradition the present owner of the old farm says:

"I cannot say with certainty that the verses were written about our old homestead, but I have always been told that they were. I remember that, when a boy, the oldest settlers felt no doubt as to the truth of the tradition. There can be no question as to the fact that the poet visited Jaffrey frequently when he lived in this vicinity, and that he felt a deep interest in the old place. It is entirely probable, that, having refreshed himself with the water from the historic well, he should have wanted to immortalize its virtues in verse."

The building is a typical country farmhouse, perfectly representing the period in which it was built, with its long sloping roof to the north to serve as a shelter, while the living rooms lie to the south, or on the higher-wall side.

The Baker house was built by Thomas Dunshire, an early settler of Jaffrey who was given three lots of land in consideration of the fact that he established himself with his family in the settlement. The place is now owned by Milton Baker, a descendant of the original settler.

The poem, "The Old Oaken Bucket," was written in 1817. The poet, Woodworth, lived in Scituate, Mass., at the time, and had several friends in Jaffrey. The old well, which figures in the poem, if tradition be correct, may still be seen, although the well-sweep is partly dismantled.

The History of Some Grand Operas

BY EDWARD LISSNER

LESS than two years ago it was announced that Oscar Hammerstein, who had long been one of the most conspicuous figures in the field of grand opera in this country, had decided to retire and devote his efforts to musical productions in London. The other day, it was learned that, so far from carrying out these intentions, Mr. Hammerstein is to write another chapter in the history of grand opera by completely revolutionizing the methods of presenting such productions in the United States.

The project now being promoted by the builder of the Manhattan Opera House provides for the construction of an opera house in every prominent city in the land, and in these he proposes to present the best attractions that money can produce. In an interview, Mr. Hammerstein stated that his plan had advanced to such a degree that he is now able to give assurances that by the time the opera season of 1913 arrives, the first National Grand Opera Company will be making appearances in no less than ten new houses outside of New York City.

"I can figure now," he said, "that in time we will have opera houses in at least forty cities. Any city that takes an interest in the project and wants a house can have one. Any city that is not wide enough awake to co-operate of course will not get one.

"I have carried this idea in my head for years. There is no doubt that this is a gigantic undertaking. It is one of the biggest things ever tried and its effects will be so far reaching that it is impossible to measure them. It will solve the problem here as it has been solved in Europe."

Mr. Hammerstein said that since his return from Europe and the announcement of the possibility of re-entering the field of

grand opera he has been besieged with requests from representatives of many cities to include them in such possible representations of grand opera for seasons ranging from a week to several months. The demand he said, was for "real opera" and the cities were willing to pay for it, but he found it impossible to accept the proposals because outside of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago there "exists no auditorium fit for grand opera such as they demand."

Mr. Hammerstein would not go into details as to the financial arrangements by which he says he will work out his plan, but he said that with the assistance of men interested in the progress and welfare of their cities he is now able to begin.

"The fundamental feature of the project," he said, "is that all these new houses are to be alike in size, with imposing elevation, frontage of about 125 feet and a depth of about 225 feet. It is not necessary that the ground should be of extraordinary value, but it is imperative that the stages and all electrical and mechanical features be exactly alike. The orchestra space must be for not fewer than seventy-five musicians and the dressing rooms are to accommodate from 200 to 300 people.

"They will be designed also to serve as dormitories for the chorus, musicians and extra personnel of a grand opera organization. A section of each house will serve as a storage room for stock scenery. It will be seen that the construction and embellishments and architectural features of these houses being alike, their cost will be vastly below any estimate for a single one.

"The existence of such houses throughout the country makes the presentation of grand opera, in all the term implies, a certainty. The undertaking then assumes a national character. It opens a new field and never dreamed of opportunity for the furtherance and elevation of musical culture in this country. A city possessing such a house adds to its attractiveness and places a stamp of intellectual progress upon its citizens. Civic pride will become the reigning factor in the creation and maintenance of such an edifice. The local financial aid which I will require is comparatively trifling when the vast benefit of the project is taken into consideration."

Mr. Hammerstein said that such an institution as he proposes

has promising features from a financial standpoint. He has now under contract, actual or optional, a large number of the foremost operatic singers, he said, and he promises to create a grand opera company that the greatest opera houses of the world would be proud to possess.

Mr. Hammerstein suggested two continuous lines or operatic centres to house each season one or two grand operatic companies such as he proposes to organize: First, Albany, Syracuse, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Kansas City and Denver; second, Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond, Atlanta, Birmingham, Nashville, Memphis, New Orleans, Galveston, Houston, Dallas and San Antonio. He said it was necessary to have at least ten cities in each circuit.

There would be at least two or three weeks of grand opera in each place each year under Mr. Hammerstein's plan, he says, and the rest of the time each house would be provided by him with concert and other attractions.

"Leaving aside the commercial aspect of this great undertaking," Mr. Hammerstein said, "the existence of these many opera houses will give an impetus to the furtherance of operatic knowledge and the cultivation of musical taste bordering almost on the chimerical. I feel that these houses, as well as the whole project will prove the birthplace for permanent grand opera in the vernacular by an individual organization in each large city of this country.

This is important news. The music loving public has been educated to demand the very best that can be had, and managers have learned that they must give the people what they want if they expect to retain their patronage. A season beginning with *Lohengrin* and ending with *Faust* no longer satisfies. Even the works of Wagner and Meyerbeer alone will not suffice. Those who love music insist that there shall be a taste of Puccini, Carpentier and other of the modern composers during the season.

Of the modern composers in this field, Puccini is the most popular. There is more demand for his work than that of any other composer, living or dead. Whether Puccini will live as Wagner has, is a question for the critics. Much of the rage for him may be due to the present ascendancy in this country of the

French and Italian opera and the partial eclipse of the German.

The opera which most recently endeared this Italian to American audiences, was his *Madam Butterfly*. The story behind it is simple. Puccini while in London was looking for a libretto. He confided this to Frank Neilson, then stage manager at Covent Garden, who suggested that he see *Madam Butterfly* then running at the Duke of York Theatre. Puccini did so and the piece appealed to him at once. He wrote part of *Madam Butterfly* while recovering from an accident. Much of it had been planned during the latter part of 1902 and the beginning of 1903. Puccini's idea was to make it an opera in one act divided by an intermezzo. The latter was used in treating the very effective and most eloquent silence on which the curtain fell, while the Japanese girl with her servant and baby were keeping their long vigil through the night for the return of her supposed husband. Puccini was aided in his work by the wife of the Japanese ambassador and even obtained some actual Japanese melodies from a friend of her's in Paris.

La Boheme was his fourth work. It was composed partly at Torre del Lago and in a villa occupied for a time by the composer at Castellaccio near Pescia. The book is founded on Murger's, *Vie de Bohême*. The libretto, however, follows the spirit rather than the letter. For instance two characters in the book, Francine and Mimi, are welded into one. The libretto is four more or less detached scenes from the story. Gorga was the original Rodolfo and Ferrani, the Mimi.

The desk where Puccini works is in the corner of an immense room, the largest in the house, divided off by carved wooden rails. It is a sanctuary, which no one is allowed to enter. The desk stands in the middle. It is so large that it practically takes up all the available room and is crowded with souvenirs and bibelots, many of which have fond recollections for the composer. Back of the desk is a piano, where Puccini plays the music as he composes it, and behind this is an enormous bookcase filled with the most valuable works of Italian writers.

If he is not as popular in America as Puccini, the fact remains that no composer has created as much sensation by his work as Richard Strauss. If we bar the initial production of Parsifal at

the Metropolitan, no other modern opera was the storm center of more controversy than *Salome*.

Strauss once characterized it and his Guntram as "*Musik-dramas*" and his *Feuersnot*, "*a singgedicht*."

The libretto of *Salome* was based on Frau Hedwig Lachman's German translation of Oscar Wilde's play. Strauss abridged it for his own purpose. During one of the orchestral rehearsals at Dresden, a member of the band, an Austrian, pointed out to the composer that a love *motif* in the piece is one of the cavalry calls of the Austrian Army, which he must have heard many times.

The story of the first opera, Guntram, was suggested by a newspaper article on certain secret societies that existed in Austria in the Middle Ages whose objects were purely artistic, partly religious and ethical.

Feuersnot appeared between eight and nine years later. The idea of that opera was evolved from an old saga of the Netherlands, which told of a certain young man who loved a maiden, who was cold and contemptuous toward him. The story was *risque* and Strauss and Wolzogen were obliged to change it before the libretto could be used.

Strauss never begins to compose anything until he has allowed himself a complete rest of several weeks. The major part of his creative work is done in the summer time. He needs the calm and quiet of the country to write in. There are too many other things to do when he reaches Berlin. But nevertheless all his compositions are scored there. When in the country, Strauss usually retires to a summer house right after breakfast, where he remains undisturbed, even from letters or urgent messages, till the midday meal. Sometimes, he reads or walks for the rest of the day. To quote an admirer, Strauss "is fastidiously methodical." His writing table is a model of neatness. All his manuscripts and sketch books are arranged, indexed and docketed with the most scrupulous care. Most of his composing is done in the afternoon and evening and he often keeps it up until one or two in the morning. The work never affects his nerves. When finished, his mind is absolutely freed from a thought of it and he goes to sleep immediately.

The composer who has done for the operatic stage what Emil Zola did for letters is Gustave Charpentier in his *Louise*. Future efforts may win him great fame, but *Louise* is destined to remain in the work nearest his heart.

Charpentier went to Paris in 1892 after spending five years at the Villa Medici, as a holder of the Prix de Rome. He was very poor and lodged on the borders of the Rue Montmartre. It was there that Charpentier came in contact with the little world of bohemians and working people, who inspired him to write *Louise*. The heroine is a Parisian working girl, loved and wooed by the poet Julian. The managers were not slow to recognize the merits of the work, as a whole, but there were certain passages they did not like and these they wanted changed. Charpentier refused though he was penniless at the time. In fact, all that stood between him and starvation was the keeper of a little dairy on the rue St. Luc, who supplied him with eggs, chocolate and milk. The managers finally gave in and *Louise* was put on. In the hour of triumph, Charpentier did not forget his subjects and early in the run of the opera, offered a special performance to the working girls of Paris. Later on, they were represented at a banquet given in his honor and presented him with a medalion, as a token of their regard.

For odditiy in composition, *Pelleas et Melisande* of Claude Debussy, stands alone in the musical world. As one critic put it, the opera "is a new way of evolving and combining tones, a new order of harmonic, melodic and rhythmic structure." The method of Debussy was to have the work sung by characters to a kind of psalmodic declamation. He is strongly averse to the intimate coalescence of the voice and the orchestra. *Pelleas et Melisande* was first produced at the Paris Opera Comique in 1902. But Debussy was known before that as a composer, writer and critic. The opera, however, won him greater fame. This did not change his retiring disposition. It became manifest when requests began to pour in for his photograph. If there is anything Debussy abhors, it is posing for the camera. A very pressing request came on the morrow of the success of his opera from the editor of *Le Monde Musical*. The composer replied: "Willingly and you will receive the only one that has ever been

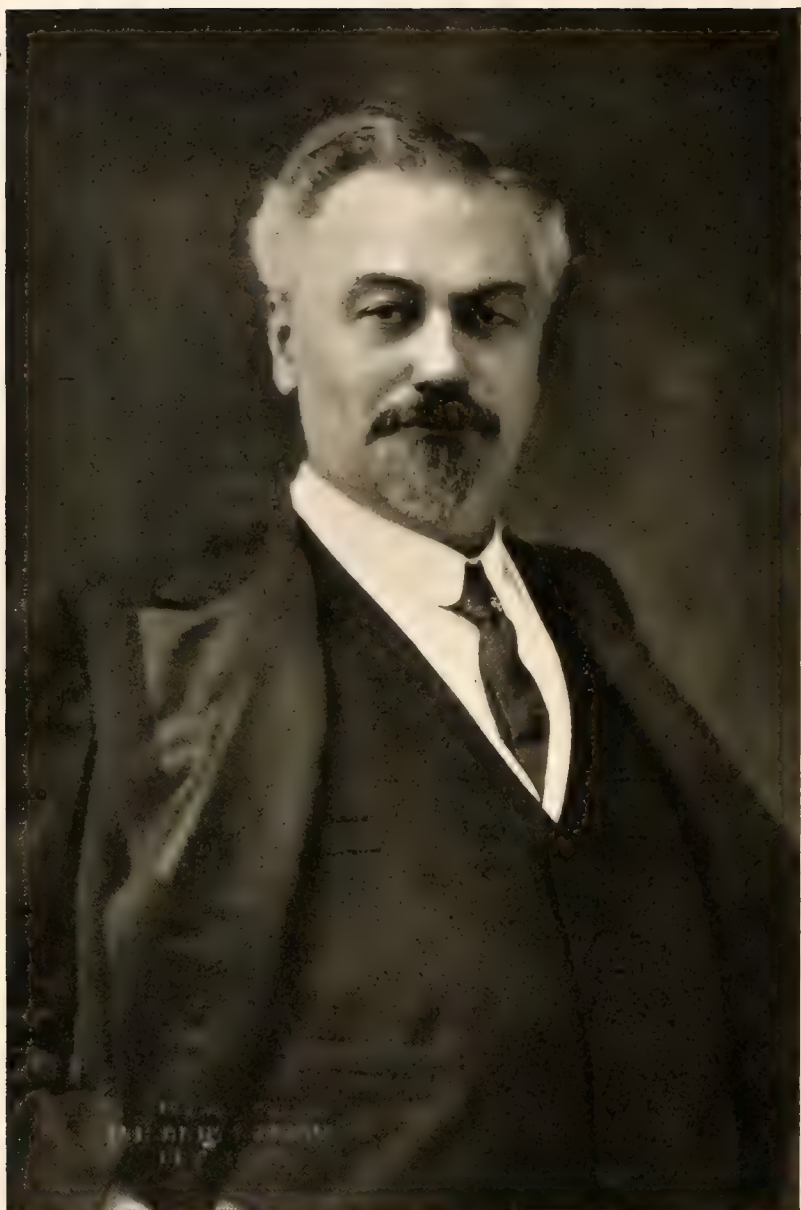


Photo by Mishkin, New York.

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN

taken. But I tell you before hand—when I sat to the photographer, I was two years old and since then I have changed a little.”

Saint-Saëns, unlike the others named, has been prominent as a composer for many years. There is an interesting story behind his *Samson et Dalila*, which was first produced at the Grand Ducal Theatre of Weimar. The opera was begun before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. The second act was tried out in private, the part Samson being sung by the ill-fated painter, Henri Regnault, who was killed in the war the following year. The *Marche Heroique* was the tribute Saint-Saëns paid to his memory. The score of *Samson et Dalila* was terminated in 1872 and another performance of the second act given two years later, this time by Madam Viardot, at her country house at Croisey. She took the part of Dalila. Later on, the entire first act was given at one of Mons Colonne's concerts in Paris. The opera was finally sung in 1877. It was Liszt who, quick to recognize the genius of the work, undertook to have it mounted at Weimar. The opera was not given in France until 1890. Rouen was the scene of the first French production.

Saint-Saëns began his musical education at the age of three with lessons on the piano. When he began to play the first exercise, he was discovered playing it only with the right hand using the other to press the weak little fingers down in order to sound each note distinctly.

Jules Massenet has also been known to the music lovers of this country for some time. Last year, his new opera, *La Jongleur de Notre Dame* was brought out at the Manhattan with Mary Garden in the leading role. It will be heard this season. But Massenet is mostly associated in American minds with his *Manon*. This opera is a musical setting of Abbe Prevost's romance and was first produced at the Opera Comique in 1884. It was the first opera that Massenet had composed for that theatre in twelve years. During this period, he had won fame as a dramatic critic and an orchestral writer. The famous novel of Abbe Prevost had already been utilized for operatic purposes by Auber. Pucini has since used it as a text. The subject the novel furnished Massenet was particularly suited to his musical style.

Manon was written at The Hague. Massenet was well known

at the time and in order to work undisturbed by friends and admirers, he took rooms as a boarder under an assumed name. As a further precaution, he did not even send for a piano. This did not handicap him, however, for Massenet does not require a piano in order to compose. He thinks out his music, which he hears inwardly, and even by this method is said to arrange it for the orchestra. He labored unceasingly at his work. His only exercise was an hour's walk in the evening from which he would return with his coat collar turned up to conceal his features. Massenet was accustomed to write at a large table littered with music paper, each sheet bearing thirty staves. The people where he lodged began to grow curious. They finally decided he was a choir master. But just about this time, some one recognized Massenet and people began flocking to see him. The score of *Manon*, however, had already been completed.

There is no modern composer whose work is as well known to the mass of the American people as Mascagni. Indeed it is doubtful whether the compositions of Wagner and the other musical giants are as familiar as the intermezzo from *Cavalleria Rusticana*, which today remains a strong favorite not merely on but off the operatic stage.

The circumstances under which it was composed are interesting enough to bear repetition. Back in 1878, Verga published a volume of peasant sketches. They were powerful and attractive and imbued with the warm and realistic coloring of his native soil. These sketches appeared in the days when it was difficult for a young composer to get a hearing for his work. In order to encourage them, Sonzogno of Milan, a music publisher and man of much wealth and enterprise, offered a prize for a short opera in one act. Ten of the competitors went to Verga's sketches for their librettoes. Mascagni won. He was leading a musical society at the time at Cerignold. He laid the scene of *Cavalleria* in the land of the dagger and stiletto and told the old story of love's conquest and faithlessness. The opera was composed under much difficulty. For Mascagni was so poor that he did not have the money to hire a piano and his little family were almost starving at the time.

Despite the present ascendancy of the French and Italian com-

posers, the Wagner operas remain factors in the success or popularity of each season. If so much had not already been written about the great German composer, his name and work would have appeared at the beginning here.

The plot of *Rienzi* was suggested by Bulwer's novel. Wagner read it in 1837. He finished the libretto and began work on the music while acting as conductor at Riga. The opera was written without hope of immediate production, but with a view of future performance at some theatre of large resource. The opera was finally put on at the Dresden Court Theatre in 1842. During a rehearsal of the overture, the trombones were too loud, whereupon Wagner said with a laugh:

"Gentlemen, we are in Dresden, not marching around the Walls of Jericho."

The libretto of *Tannhauser* was begun before *Rienzi* was put in rehearsal. Wagner remarked that his dog had helped him in the score of the opera. His composing was done under trying conditions. He was morbid and despondent at the time and the only comfort he derived was from his dog and a few friends. The dog usually sat at Wagner's feet. While the composer was at the piano, singing boisterously, the dog often leaped on a table nearby, peered into Wagner's face and began to howl. The composer would stop, shake the paw of the animal and exclaim:

"What, does it not suit you?" then add, quoting from Shakespeare: "Well, I will do thy bidding, gently."

The reader may be surprised to learn that the beautiful "*Song to the Evening Star*" met with much criticism when the opera was produced. Chelland, a German composer, said that it was wrongly harmonized and suggested certain harmonies, which should be substituted for those employed by Wagner. Later a favorite division of the composer, when among his friends, was to sit at the piano and sing the song, "*a la Chellard*."

The sketches for the book of *Lohengrin* were made before the production of *Tannhauser*. Liszt was quick to recognize the power of the opera and undertook to produce it at Weimar. The directors promised to spend \$1,500 on the production, "a sum unprecedented at Weimar within memory of Man," Liszt wrote. Herr Beck, the tenor, found the title role too much for him. He

retired from the stage shortly after and it was said that the music of Wagner had ruined his voice. Liszt undertook the piano, choral and orchestral rehearsals, while Genast attended to the staging.

Wagner enjoyed no royal road to fame. The scores of *Rienzi*, *The Flying Dutchman* and *Tannhauser* were returned unopened by the managers. He worked hard on *Lohengrin* and when the possibility of putting that opera on grew remote, turned to the Ring of the Nibelung. Twenty-five years later when that cycle was about to be produced at Bayreuth, he wrote to Praeger:

"It appears to me that the whole German Empire is created only to aid me in attaining my object."

Wagner did not seek the piano for ideas. He never touched the keys until the ideas were composed. The piano he used as a sketch book on which he worked and re-worked his subject, steadily modelling the matter, until it assumed the shape he had in mind. His composing was done in an elegantly well-arranged studio. It meant much labor and excitement for him. Wagner worked to excess. With some exception, he attended to every detail in the production of his operas. He not only indicated the position on the stage that he wished the various characters to take, but in one instance actually made little chalk marks to insure the following of his directions.

Meyerbeer was also a German, but he left the Fatherland and went to live in Paris, where he gave his great masterpieces to the world. We still hear them year in and year out.

Les Huguenots was probably his most famous opera. It followed *Robert le Diable*. Both were the result of his settling in Paris, where he buried himself deep in the literature of French opera. The library of Meyerbeer in the French capital contained hundreds of opera scores, great and small, many of which were hardly known by name even to the best informed. *Les Huguenots* was put on in 1836, but did not at once realize the hopes that had been built upon it. A reason was the great success of *Robert le Diable* and a general idea that the new piece would be along the same lines.

La Prophete was one of Meyerbeer's last grand French operas. It was produced at the *Academie* in April, 1849, and in London the following July. The opera had been completed some

time before, but its production was postponed, owing to the lack of a singer competent to meet the requirements of the principal character.

The triumph of Gounod with *Faust* inspired Berlioz to go to the same theme. This led to his *Damnation of Faust*. The opera was not completed until 1846, though its composition was begun long before. Strange to say, it failed and for ten years after, Berlioz did not offer any composition to the French people. This lack of appreciation soured him though some believed he expected too much. It was not until after his death that the public recognized the genius of his opera.

The operas of Verdi have also stood the test of time. They have served to bring out the great voice of Caruso and other modern stars.

The production of *Rigoletto* was marked by numerous difficulties. Verdi, who always chose his own subjects and planned his librettoes, directed Piave to draw his material from Hugo's "*Roi's'amuse*." Piave did and called the work, *La Maledizione*. The opera was intended for La Fenice in Venice and therefore had to be submitted to the Austrian censorship. Aware of the source of Piave's inspiration, the officials forbade the production of the opera until all the characters had been changed. Thus the King became the Duke of Mantua, while Triboulet was turned into Rigoletto and the local color of the story quite done away with. The opera was written while Verdi was in retirement at Busetto.

Aida was composed by command of the Viceroy of Egypt. It is one of the rare instances of a successful piece being written to order. A new Italian opera house had just been built in Cairo and the Khedive, Ismail Pasha, applied to Verdi, asking his terms for a new opera to be written upon a libretto provided with a national subject. Verdi demanded 4,000 pounds sterling and 6,000 if his presence was required to conduct the rehearsals. The terms were accepted. Mariette Bey, a celebrated Egyptian scholar, made a sketch of the plot, which was sent to Verdi for his approval. Ghislanzoni wrote the libretto. Verdi added the powerful scene of Radames' trial in the third act. His dread of the sea led him to decline the direction of the rehearsal and Signor Bottesini acted instead.

Five Municipal Shields

BY GEORGE K. SMITH

MANY persons who have stopped to watch the work of the Municipal Building which is now being constructed in New York City have been puzzled to guess the purpose of the five devices which appear upon the shields over the great pillars of the structure.

The greatest interest, perhaps, has been shown in the pair of shields affixed above the pillars on either side of the gateway through which Chambers street passes. To the student of armorial bearings, these shields seem very much like a variation of the British coat-of-arms, and many questions have been asked as to the reason for placing such a device, with its coronet, upon New York's Municipal Building.

An investigation discloses the fact that the mysterious shields tell, heraldically and decoratively, the history of New York. Upon one we have the arms of the Province of New Netherlands; on another the arms of the City of New Amsterdam; a third reproduces the arms of the British province of New York, while the fourth shows the arms of the American State and City of New York. The coat-of-arms which has been given the place of honor on the building, reproduces the arms of the Province of New York, as established in 1664, when the British took it from the Dutch and renamed it in honor of James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II., whose arms became those of the province.

It is these arms that overlook the Chamber Street entrance, and it is the Duke's coronet, in the proper form of a coronet for a prince of the blood royal, that surmounts the shield.

The quarterings are those of the Stuarts, who styled themselves Kings of Great Britain, France and Ireland. The French

title was dropped by George III, in 1801. In the first, or upper left hand, quarter as one faces the shield, are the leopards of the House of Lancaster and the lilies of France. This device is repeated in the fourth, or lower right hand, quarter. In the second, or upper right hand, quarter, is the lion rampant within a border, for Scotland, and in the third, or lower left hand, quarter, is the harp of Ireland.

The devices to be placed upon these shields were matter for deep research and many conferences on the part of R. T. H. Halsey of the Municipal Art Commission and of Messrs. McKim, Mead and White, the architects, and it was only after all authorities on the subject had been consulted that the Art Commission put its authoritative approval upon the designs.

Grant and the Third Term

BY WILLIAM HALL

IN view of the interest shown in the discussion of permitting a President of the United States to serve more than two terms, the attitude which President Grant assumed when he was invited to permit his name to be presented for re-election is of considerable political as well as historical importance.

It does not seem to be generally known that a strong effort was made to persuade General Grant to stand for a third term. It is somewhat surprising that this phase of the great general's career should have been left to such obscurity.

The facts are these: It was Roscoe Conklin who was delegated to ascertain how Grant felt in regard to a third-term candidacy. The following letter recently unearthed by Mr. H. H. Thompson, secretary of the Peoples Bank of Passaic, N. J., from the files of an old newspaper, shows how the general answered Mr. Conklin. For some inexpressible reason, unless it be through sheer neglect, the standard biographers of Grant neither incorporate this letter or mention it.

It reads as follows:

NEW YORK, May 2, 1880.

MY DEAR MR. CONKLING:

I am in receipt of your last letter and have very considerably weighed the matter in all its bearings. The tribute you pay my services to the country I appreciate, but at the same time I fear you overestimate my services and under estimate the indulgence of our country.

There have been exigencies that warranted a second term, but I do not believe that the best interests, or the country's good, ever demanded a third term or ever will.

I had my doubts even as to the advisability of a second term, and you know that I have so expressed myself to you in our confidential talks. This is a big country, full of brainy and ambitious men, who can serve the country eminently well as its President, and I sincerely question the policy of thwarting their noble ambition.

In a republic, cosmopolitan like ours, a man's fame is too frequently dependent upon the status of public sentiment. Fame in this country ebbs and flows. Today you are the peer; tomorrow you may be submerged beneath the wave of adverse sentiment. This is another reason why the noble ambition to be a President should not be restricted to one man.

I feel that our country has amply repaid me for all my service by the honors it has bestowed upon me and I feel that to be a candidate or accept the nomination for a third term would be ingratitude, and would eventually affect me with the people who have loved me and whom I love.

I am still of the opinion that I should speak to the country, that I should break the silence in a letter declining emphatically to accept a nomination for a third term.

I appreciate your efforts, your friendship and loyalty, but I fear that your zealousness for me is an error, not of heart, but of mind. Knowing that, with all your nobleness, you have a highly sensitive nature, and knowing your antipathy for the Maine statesman, I have always deferred from speaking of him to you, but I now feel that I should speak on that matter and plainly.

This estrangement between you two, unless checked, must prove a mutual disadvantage. It will hurt Mr. Conkling. It will hurt Mr. Blaine. It will be a stumbling block in the way of the ambition of both.

I believe that could the differences existing be amicably adjusted the nomination this year, would go to one, leaving the honor four years hence more than a probability for the other. It is not only necessary for the good of each that an amicable adjustment be reached, but for the good of the party; and more for the good of the country.

I fear that the presentation of my name at the convention

would not only assist in the defeat of Mr. Blaine but seriously affect your future besides warping my career. Even should I be nominated it could only come after a spirited contest, in which much bitterness would be injected; and then I doubt if I could be elected, as I seriously doubt whether any man can ever again be elected, even for a second term, unless, perchance there should arise some extraordinary emergency, which now appears improbable, even in the dim future.

I am aware that this matter has gone on to an extent where an announcement from me refusing to accept would be looked upon by some as cowardice. But would it not be far better to be considered a coward than a usurper? I also appreciate your position in, as you say, "The final and supreme effort of your life for supremacy," yet, in the face of all, I still believe that my name should not be presented. And, further, I believe that your anxiety about the effect an announcement from me would have on your future is an error.

I trust you will consider gravely and carefully my wishes. I am generous enough to suffer myself rather than to have my friends suffer, if I am convinced that any act of mine would cause them to suffer.

Awaiting your reply before acting, I remain, sincerely your friend,

U. S. GRANT.

While it is apparent that General Grant followed the unwritten law set by the First President, his letter shows that he can scarcely be regarded as entitled to be called a "true prophet." The idea that he was the last man to hold the Presidency, "even for a second term," reads strangely in view of the number of men who have filled the President's chair since the day when General Grant left it.

To the friends of the candidate of the Progressive party, there must be some satisfaction in the fact that General Grant's predictions have not been realized, or, at least, they may take hope from the letter's later assurance that there is a possibility that in times "of extraordinary emergency," even the third-term law that custom has developed might properly be violated. To their mind, such an emergency now confronts the nation.

“Doctoring” Two Hundred Years Ago

BY HELEN LOCKWOOD COFFIN

“ENJOYING poor health” is an impossible pleasure these days. Between the “regulars,” who stand waiting to carry the patient off to the operating room and literally see what ails him, and the New Thinkers, who assert impersonally and without sympathy that nothing ails anybody because nothing is, there is no longer any satisfaction or comfort in being an invalid. We sigh for “the good old times.” Then, we think, we should have dared confess to a certain uneasiness and gained some pleasure and profit from a dose of peppermint, without the fear of either an operation for appendicitis or an affirmation of Perfect Health.

A cheery and invigorating glimpse into the ways of the sick in the good old days comes to us in the “*Pharmacopoeia Extemporanea*,” written by one Thomas Fuller, M. D., and printed in London in 1719. It is, as the author explains, “A Body of Medicines, containing a Thousand Select Prescripts, answering most Intentions of Cure.” A cursory glance through these prescripts shows that there was some satisfaction in being under the weather two hundred years ago. Even the names of the medicines smack of comfort; there are “quilts” and “nightcaps” galore, and a “consolatory draught” on every other page. The very act of becoming ill is invested with a certain quaint charm, since it is recorded that the patient “fell into” a distemper, or a consumption, or whatever it might be. It was considered an accident for which he was in nowise responsible. Nobody said:—“Didn’t you know any better than to swallow those germs?”

“Hysterics” were perfectly respectable and nothing to be ashamed of; “hysteric ales” and similar decoctions were kept in the family medicine chest and “women obnoxious to vapours”

were advised to make them their "constant drink," or at least to use them "three times a day for a good while." Appearances, too, were taken into consideration and medicaments were compounded with an eye to beauty and general effect. A frankincense plaster is recommended as a "slightly neat plaister, to be put on the wrists in a fever." Avaunt, ye modern porous plaster! I blush for thy unsightliness!

My copy of the Pharmacopoeia is the third English edition. The original Latin edition was published in 1714. I do not know how many similar "assistances to young physicians" were then in existence, but I judge from the preface that this was a new venture in an unfallowed field, because the author takes so many words and pains and pages to "first shew the Occasion of Compiling and Publishing my Pharmacopoeia. Then wherefore I translated it; And lastly endeavor at an Apology for Both."

He assures us that long before he "ventured upon Practice" he "made up a very great Collection of the best and neatest Medicines" he could "pick up from Books, Bills, and Communications; and then composed a Manual out of it All." Not, he hastens to add, "to transcribe Receipts out of, but to consult upon Occasion, and use as an Assistant to my Memory and Invention." Wherefore, as he sets forth, all along in the Course of his Business he did not tie himself up "to the Preciseness of Set Forms;" but "evermore varied Prescripts as Indications directed and Palates allowed; for"—Listen to this, Oh ye Physicians of Today!—"I tasted almost Everything I ordered."

His first "endeavor at an Apology" is for publishing; his second for publishing in English. He was clearly the victim of circumstance. It seems that "a certain young Gentleman, a Bachelor in Physics," after making a copy of this manual carried it off with him "into Holland and Flanders and died at Antwerp and left it there." For the which thoughtlessness all fair-minded people are constrained to blame the young Gentleman. He caused the author great uneasiness:—"For I knew not into what Hands it might fall; and perhaps the Dutch might print it upon me, rough as it was, and unprepared for the Press;" and thus was he forced to publish his own version. As for putting it into English, he pleads the "Example of our great Predeces-

sors in all ages. Hippocrates and the Grecians used only their Mother Tongue. . . . The Arabians wrote all their Works in Arabic. . . . If others of all ages have published Medicines and done it in their vulgar Tongue, for what Reason then must I alone be singled out and censured and ill-used, as though I, and none but I, prostituted Learning, profaned the Profession, and assisted Empirics?”

He tried hard to steer a safe passage between Profanation of the Profession and Dissemination of Knowledge; he frankly confesses that the result is “full of hard Words and a sort of Latin-English.” He says this is partly “from direct Design, to keep up the Dignity of Physic, set it above the Reach of the Vulgar, and to secure it to Those to whom it belongs; and partly upon mere Necessity. For Philosophy and Physic are not yet so naturalized among us, as to speak plain English; and therefore we must allow them to keep their native Greek and Latin terms of Art and many times Expressions also; otherwise we should be ridiculously singular and less understood.”

His “ridiculously singular” English is one of the joys of the books. The “Prescripts for Cures” abound in statements which are “less understood.” For instance, just what do you think the author means to say of a “Cephali Ale,” when he asserts that it “assists the Chylification and Sanguification; edulcorates the Serum of the Blood; corroborates the Brain; depurates the Spirits and extricates them from their ill-sorted Copula?” Or by this description of honey:—“Honey consists of a sweet, viscid Principle manifest, and of an acrid Volatile, something occult?” Or by these directions regarding a “sweetening scorbutic Ale:—you make as Many and as Few as you please at a Time, so as to have them fresh one under another.” Or by this:—but I will speak no more of his English; for I have suddenly come upon this in his preface:— “And Those that are so Ignorant and Ordinary that they cannot apprehend what I write, should be so diffident also as not to read it.”

The directions given with the prescripts are enlightening. They “practically explain,” to quote the author, a number of things hitherto familiar, but less understood. Take our old friend, the mustard plaster. We have known it to “rouze up

and expand'' upon occasion, but we haven't sifted out the cause. Dr. Fuller says, in commenting on the "several Kinds, manner of Operation and Rational Use of Applications to the Feet" that "they act (not upon the Feet primarily) but on the Spirits. They are of two Sorts; such as rouse up and expand, as Mustard, etc., and such as pacify the enraged Spirits, as Chickens and Pigeons slit open alive, Lamb's Lungs, etc., warm. And we use them when the Spirits being vehemently irritated, fly into Explosions."

Usually Dr. Fuller's directions are delightfully informal. You are to put in "four handfuls" of this or that; or "as much fine sugar and nutmeg as will make it grateful;" or "as much dandelion as you think fit;" or "boil it in a convenient quantity of barley water." Occasionally the processes are somewhat involved. For example:—"The best way to fetch out the Faculties of most Ingredients" is to "work the Ale together with them in it." I shall not venture to comment on that until I have tried it. But always the kindly spirit of helpfulness and consideration on the part of the author is in evidence. A favorite admonition of his is to "Let the Patient off with a Pint twice a day."

We appreciate his kindness the more when we discover what constituted "medicines" in those days. Among them were such revolting messes as dragon's blood, powdered bees, "humane cranium," crabs' eyes, vipers' flesh, live millipedes, tails of crawfish and—but we draw the veil. Even such flowery prescriptions as Conserves of Red Roses or Red Poppy Water cannot take the taste out. Surely any patient would be grateful to be let off with a pint twice a day. Other ingredients are curious but not nauseating,—as "the finest writing paper, cut small;" cobwebs, eggshells, sifted ashes of broom and bean stalks; "clean filings of needles;" rust of iron "made into fine dust," and an old friend in a new dress, "camphire."

The moon's phases are credited with considerable influence and the physician is advised to contemplate the heavens before prescribing for his patient. Certain "cures" are to be given "three days together before the new and full moon." A julep, "used with Benefit against the Epilepsy" should be given for a

prevention of a “paroxism near the Lunary periods; for about these Times the Brain suffers wonderful Alterations, insomuch, that at the Full Moon it groweth so turgid (which appears by Wounds in the Head) as to fill up the whole Capacity of the Skull; yea, hath often been seen to thrust out through a Wound. And as the Moon waneth, appportionately again subsides to the New and then is in its least Appearance. Thus we see Oisters and all shell-fish are fuller and better at the Full and contrary at the New.”

Dr. Fuller experimented upon a number of titled and interesting patients, as he is in no wise loath to have us aware. And such is fame that these Lords and Ladies with their “divers Vapours and Dolours” are still enjoying them for the benefit of all who read this book. One of them, a “certain baronet’s Daughter,” has stirred my sympathy. Her case is used as a shining example of what not to do for gout. It seems that with this disease “infinite Caution ought to be used in external Applications. For if the morbific Matter be thereby dislodged but not corrected, nor carried off, it may shift to some noble Parts, the Brain, or Stomach.” This is what happened to the Baronet’s Daughter. Her trouble “flashed suddenly up into her Head, and entirely took away her Sense, and laid her in a strange sort of Amazement, with a mixture of Fright and Fury.”

This “strange sort of Amazement” is apt to pounce unexpectedly upon the innocent reader of this book. He is seeing things in broad day-light:—dragons’ blood and the flesh of vipers; red roses and red poppy water; small pieces of notepaper wrapped in cobwebs; all these assail him in one fell swoop, with a mixture of Fright and Fury. He is of a mind to turn him to the New Thinkers and deny the deniable and affirm everything else, for which laudable ambition he has the gracious permission of Dr. Fuller. For, says the author in his preface:—

“The Ignorant, the Idle, and the Envious, who do nothing for the Publick themselves and hate, ridicule, and hinder those that labor for it, may now go on and think as their malignant Nature inclines them.”

Columbus

(On the occasion of the unveiling of the Statue, at Washington,
June, 1912)

BY J. K. FORAN, LITT. D.

ASST. LAW CLERK, HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA, CANADA

UNVEIL his Statue! Let us behold
Those features fine and nobly bold,
Cast in the grand heroic mould
Of bygone Saints and Sages;
Carve on the pedestal his name,
That now belongs to deathless fame,
And sheds, like to a living flame,
A light on History's pages.

Christopher, the "carrier of Christ,"
First with the aborigines held tryst,
First on this continent to hoist
The Cross above our sod;
Columbus, he, the "carrier-dove,"
Who 'gainst the ocean tempests strove,
To bear the message of true love
And sow the seed of God.

Unveil his Statue! Let it stand
Here in the center of the land;
From Mountain peak to ocean's strand
'Twill greet the Nations' eyes.
The centuries may roll away,
But to earth's last and fateful day,
Columbus o'er the world holds sway,
Here, 'neath Columbia's skies.

Let music swell and cannons boom,
Let lights like day the night illumine,
He needs no better, greater tomb,
 Than in the wide world's heart;
Let joybells to his honor ring,
Let myriads their offerings bring,
And garlands in profusion fling
 Around this noble work of Art!

It matters not how Time shall sweep,
Or greatness on our Future peep,
Or Glory's Dawn upon us creep,
 Or fame and splendors flow,—
It matters not how Nations rise,
Or which shall grasp the envied prize
Of Power, that earthly power defies,
 Above them all HIS fame shall glow!

Unveil his Statue! Let us see,
Here, in this land of Liberty,
The one who leap'd Atlantic's sea
 And found a Continent.
And while upon his face we gaze,
And songs of unrestricted praise
Around his image here we raise,
 Let gratitude to God be blent,
 In a Te Deum heavenward sent.

New York in the Thirties

M. H. GALLAGHER

THE diary of Philip Hone, a leading business man of old New York was recently published by one of his descendants.

Philip Hone's business was that of auctioneer. He auctioned the cargoes which the merchant sailing ships brought from across the big pond. In 1820, having amassed a fortune, he retired from business, and from that time until the day of his death he interested himself in the social and public life of the growing city.

In 1826 Philip Hone was elected mayor of New York. Afterwards he became president of the first Bank of Savings organized in that city. His home was located at the corner of Broadway and Park place, the site upon which the tall Woolworth building is now being erected.

The diary which is now attracting considerable attention, especially among those who are interested in Old New York affairs, fills two volumes, and covers the period from 1827 up to within a few days of his death in 1851. Few works of this kind have gone with anything like so much care into the smaller details which really constitutes the life of a city. In its pages we find almost as much information as could be gleaned from the files of the papers of that period, but what makes it of greatest interest is the record which it gives of the business development of the city, and the steady rise in values. From the diary we also learn that the cost-of-living troubled New Yorkers even in those days. Indeed for a bird's-eye view of Metropolitan conditions from seventy to ninety years ago it is impossible to find a more valued piece of literature than the diary of the retired

merchant, Philip Hone from which the following extracts were taken:

“Tuesday, August 4, 1829.—The house and lot No. 49 Wall street, recently occupied by the Pacific Insurance Company, 29 feet on Wall street and about 130 feet deep, was sold this day at auction for \$38,100.”

Four years later he recorded several interesting transactions in the block where now stands the Astor House, and the block above it, where the Woolworth Building is going forward:—

“Wednesday, January 11, 1832.—Halsted F. Haight’s property sold this day. The three story house, lot 22 Vesey street, formerly occupied by the late Bishop Hobard, 25 feet front by 102 feet in depth, bought by Mr. Ward for \$18,500. The lot of ground next to my residence, corner of Broadway and Park place with three tenements, one on Broadway and two on Park place, the lot 25 feet on Broadway and 24 8-100 in the rear, in length on Park place 121 10-100, and along my line 120 feet 6 inches, bought by L. Bronson for \$37,000. I bid for this lot \$36,700, and regret since the sale that I had not gone farther. It is worth more to me than to any other person.

“The house at No. 18 Park place, occupied by Charles McEvers, was sold at auction on Saturday to James J. Roosevelt, Jr., for \$14,200; lot 25 feet by 75 feet.”

The following significant record is printed a few pages further on:—

“Friday, January 27, 1832.—The lot corner of Wall and Broad streets, 16 and 8-100 on Broad street and 30 feet on Wall street, was sold this day at auction for \$17,750.”

It does not appear from the above which of two famous corners was sold. On the east corner of Wall and Broad now stands the Drexel Building occupied by J. P. Morgan & Co., and on the west corner, adjoining the Stock Exchange, is the Wilks Building. The Drexel property fronts 113.52 feet in Broad and 82.7 feet in Wall street, and the land was assessed for 1911 at \$2,500,000. The Wilks land fronts 58.2 feet in Broad and 84.10 in Wall street, and this year its assessed value is \$2,100,000. All land in New York is assessed at so-called “full value.” So it seems that the J. P. Morgan corner was worth about \$37 a square foot in 1832, and is worth about \$270 a square foot to-day.

It appears that the boom in land values which began about 1830 kept up for several years without a break.

The diary continues:—

“April 30, 1833—The sale of lots in the upper part of the city goes on without any interruption from any cause, foreign or domestic. Mr. Kane has sold his large house, corner of St. Mark’s place and Second avenue, to Charles Graham, for \$75,000. He called this morning to offer it to me for the last time before he closed the sale; but I do not want it, nor indeed would I consent to remove to any other situation, unless I was compelled to by selling my house in Broadway. Mr. Boardman offered me, about two months since, the price I asked for my house, \$55,000; but I was to take in part payment seven lots of ground on the Second avenue, below St. Mark’s place, at a valuation of \$35,000. This I declined, for I could not imagine then, nor can I now, that they are worth so much money. He has, however, sold them since for \$38,000, and speculators say they are a bargain.”

Second avenue at St. Mark’s place was then a fashionable suburban neighborhood. The land at the northwest corner, fronting 48 feet in Second avenue and 120 feet in St. Mark’s place, is this year assessed at \$65,000. From this it would seem that the price paid for the land at this corner in 1835 was very high.

The next real estate entry in the diary has an intimate interest for the residents of the upper west side of Manhattan:—

“August 3, 1835.—The prices of property in and about this city and Brooklyn keep up astonishingly; unimproved lots are higher than ever. Several great sales have been made at auction during my absence, but I think the greatest is the property of the late Mrs. Ann Rogers, which goes principally, I believe, to her grandchildren, the children of her daughter, Mrs. Howard. It consisted of her proportion of the Rose Hill estate left by her first husband, Nicholas Cruger, and the country seat at Bloomingdale, about six miles from the city, on the banks of the Hudson River. The amount of the sales of these two pieces of property was \$688,310. Fifteen years ago they would not have brought \$40,000. The money goes into good hands.

Bloomingdale village in the early part of the last century com-

prised a collection of some twenty houses along Bloomingdale road (now Broadway) at what is now about 100th street. Here the grocer, shoemaker, wagon maker and village smithy had their shops, and to this "centre" came the farmers of the district and the owners and employes of the fine estates which overlooked the Hudson River. About the time of this land sale the Bloomingdale "district" had grown to include the territory which is now bounded by Ninety-ninth street and Central Park West, St. Nicholas avenue, 137th street and the Hudson River.

Just north of Bloomingdale village or "centre" was the Humphrey Jones property of 109 acres. The homestead of this estate was between 101st and 102d streets near the river. In 1786 this entire property was sold to John Jones for £2,300. In 1798 Robert T. Kemble bought it for \$25,000. In 1811 it went to William Rogers for \$29,000. Rogers died in 1818, bequeathing the property to his wife, Ann, and the mansion there became known as the Ann Rogers house, and was so called for years. These historic facts are recited by Hopper Striker Mott in his book "Old Bloomingdale."

Mrs. Rogers died in 1833. Her executors, William Heywood and Francis B. Cutting, had the land surveyed and mapped, and according to Mr. Mott the proceeds of the sale on November 1, 1835, were \$716,000. This date is three months later than Mayor Hone's entry.

At this sale William P. Furniss acquired a tract at the southern boundary of the estate and he built a "grand mansion" on the ground now bounded by 99th and 100th streets, West End avenue and Riverside Drive. Only a year ago this beautiful old mansion among the trees looking down upon the river was torn down. Upon the entire block has been erected costly apartment houses. Single lots twenty-five feet by one hundred feet in this block are being held at \$50,000. And in 1835 the whole 109 acres sold for \$716,000!

The following has been quoted much, in fragments, since the Woolworth project was first made public:—

"March 8, 1836.—I have this day sold my house in which I live, No. 255 Broadway, to Elijah Boardman for \$60,000, to be converted into shops below, and the upper part to form part of

the American Hotel, kept by Edward Milford, in which I imagine Mr. Boardman to be interested. I bought this property on the 8th of March, 1821, after my return from Europe. I gave Jonathan Smith \$25,000 for it. I made a large profit; but the rage for speculation is at present so high that it will prove an excellent purchase. The house belonging to the Phoenix insurance Company, two or three doors above Warren street, was sold this day at auction for \$40,000. The building is worth little or nothing, and the lot only 25 feet by 106 feet; mine is 37 feet by 120 feet, and is very cheap compared with the other.

"I am to retain possession until the 15th of October, unless I choose to give it up before. I shall leave this delightful house with feelings of deep regret. The splendid rooms, the fine situation, my sunny library, well arranged books, handsome pictures—what will become of them? I have turned myself out of doors; but \$60,000 is a great deal of money."

On the whole Mayor Hone was a shrewd dealer in land. He sold his lot for about \$13 a square foot. The Woolworth concern has obtained title to the entire Broadway front between Park place and Barclay street, and their parcel extends in depth 192.3 feet on Barclay and 235.10 feet on Park place, making a total plot of about 31,500 square feet, which was assessed for 1911 (the land only) at \$2,372,000, and this is approximately \$72 a square foot.

A few days after selling his place Mr. Hone expressed alarm at the high prices of land and living:—

"March 12, 1836—Everything in New York is at an exorbitant rate. Rents have risen fifty per cent. for the next year. . . . Lots two miles from the City Hall are worth \$8,000 or \$10,000. Even in the Eleventh ward, toward the East River, where they sold two or three years ago for \$2,000 or \$3,000, they are now held at \$4,000 or \$5,000. Everything is in the same proportion; the market was higher this morning than I have ever known it—beef twenty-five cents per pound, mutton and veal fifteen to eighteen cents per pound, small turkeys \$1.50. This does very well for persons in business and speculators, who make, as the saying is, "one hand wash another," but it comes hard upon those retired from business, who live upon fixed in-

comes, particularly public officers, clerks in banks and counting houses, whose salaries are never raised in proportion to the increased cost of living."

Six weeks after selling his house, Mayor Hone wrote as follows:—

"April 22, 1836.—This day hired the house belonging to Mr. Bloomer, the upper one of the two marble houses with porticos in Broadway, opposite Washington place, for \$1,600. It is a fine house, delightfully situated and quite convenient to the place where I intend to build."

This "hired" house was No. 716 Broadway; he rented it for \$1,600 a year. At that time it stood far out in the thinly built up section of the city. It was a handsome house which cost \$30,000 in building some years before, and the land cost \$7,800. It was sold at foreclosure sale in 1841 for \$14,000. In 1889 it brought \$75,000 and was then torn down. On March 24, 1836, Mr. Hone bought from Samuel Ward the northwest corner lot at Broadway and Third street, twenty feet in Broadway, and 130 feet in Third street, for \$15,000. Here he built himself a new house.

Mayor Hone's foreboding of disaster to follow the riot of speculation in the first half of the "thirties" was prophetic. The panic of 1837 did, indeed, sweep away fortunes which had been easily made. The financial condition is well indicated in the following:—

"April 21, 1837.—An evidence of the pecuniary distress which pervades the community is to be found in the reduced prices of stocks and unimproved real estate. . . . Lots at Bloomingdale, somewhere about 100th street (for the whole island was laid out in town lots), which cost last September \$480 a lot, have been sold within a few days at \$50."

Though the hard times continued for several years, Wall street properly increased in value:—

"November 21, 1838.—The house at the corner of Wall and Hanover streets has been sold to the North American Trust and Banking Company by Thomas E. Davis for the enormous sum of \$223,000; higher than anything which has yet been heard of. The building is somewhat notorious from its having been erected

upon the site of one built by J. L. & S. Joseph, which about the time it was completed fell to the ground one night with a crash which shook all Wall street, and its fall was a precursor of a much more tremendous crash in that celebrated street, commencing with the failure of the firm that erected it, and ending with the suspension of specie payments and the bankruptcy of one-half of the merchants and traders of New York."

Mayor Hone was one of the founders of the Whig party and felt almost a worshipful admiration for Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. Conversely, the dictionary did not have words adequate to express his detestation of Andrew Jackson, whom he blamed for the panic. On November 21, 1838, the *New York Commercial Advertiser* printed the following under the heading "Sale of Valuable Real Estate; the St. Joseph's Building:"—

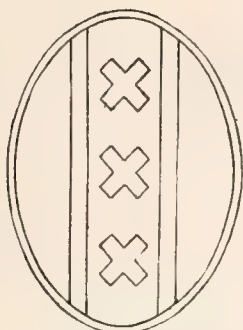
We are informed that Thomas E. Davis, Esq., has disposed of the substantial fire-proof building at the corner of Wall and Hanover streets, directly opposite the New Merchants' Exchange, to the North American Trust and Banking Company, for \$223,000.

The first floor is at present in the occupancy of the United States Bank in New York and the American Trust Company.

This lot was the east corner of Wall and Hanover, where now stands the banking house of Brown Brothers. On the west corner was the Merchants' Exchange, now the National City Bank Building. Evidently the junction of Wall and Hanover was then the very heart of the financial district. The St. Joseph's Building, alleged to be fire-proof, was a plain pile five stories high. The land is now owned by the Wall and Hanover Street Realty Company, and the plot 59 feet on Hanover and 61 feet on Wall is assessed at \$700,000.

It cannot be told from the following whether the real estate market had fully recovered in 1839, but the city was surely growing:—

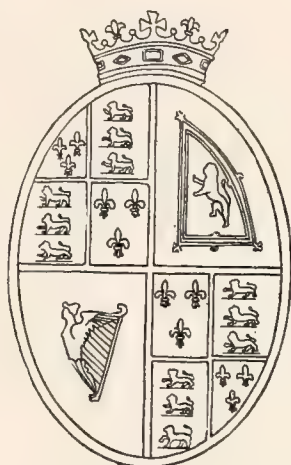
May 30, 1839.—One hundred and sixty-one lots, being part of Henry Eckford's property in Seventh and Eighth avenues and Twenty-second, Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth streets, were sold to-day at auction at very high prices. The sale amounted to \$224,045, being an average of more than \$1,500 a lot, and a large part of the property remains unsold.



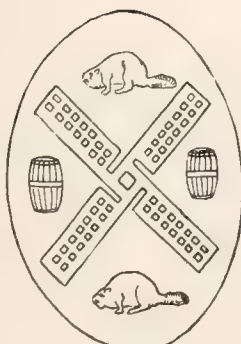
NEW AMSTERDAM.



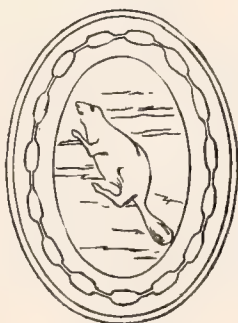
STATE OF NEW YORK.



PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.



CITY OF NEW YORK.



NEW NETHERLANDS.

The Shields on New York's new Municipal Building

But there is no doubt from the following that the city was suffering from the panic of 1837 at least three years after the first blast of the storm:—

March 7, 1840.—The ancient mansion of the late Mrs. E. White, No. 11 Broadway, opposite the Bowling Green, was sold at auction one day this week by order of her executors, and brought only \$15,000. The lot is 39 feet front in Broadway, 27 feet wide in the rear and extends through to Greenwich street nearly 200 feet. This is the saddest proof of the fall in real estate in this devoted city that has been realized as yet. There has been no time within my recollection that this lot would not have brought more money, and before General Jackson's accursed experiments it would have been worth double the price it brought.

This property is now the site of the building of the Bowling Green offices, occupied by the transatlantic steamship companies. The building occupies Nos. 5, 7, 9 and 11 Broadway. The plot fronts 162.4 feet on Broadway and runs back 200.8 feet. The land assessment value was \$1,750,000 for 1911.

At last prosperity came back to New York, and A. T. Stewart built his first big department store. But our diarist did not recover his happy spirit of earlier days. The reader will perhaps smile at the lugubrious tone of the following:—

April 7, 1845—The site of Washington Hall, in Broadway, between Chambers and Reade streets, was lately sold by the heirs of Mr. John G. Coster to A. T. Stewart, who is preparing to erect on the ground a dry goods store, spacious and magnificent beyond anything of the kind in New York, or the Old World either, as far as I know. In removing the rubbish after the hall was burned the corner stone was brought to light and exhumed this morning. . . . Well do I remember the ceremony of laying this cornerstone, on the Fourth of July, 1809, when the federalists were on their high horses, and when I subscribed \$250—which I wish I had now—and walked in the procession to the North Church, where Julian C. Verplanck (who happened just then to be a federalist) delivered the oration, and Robert Morris, Jr., father of Robert H. Morris, the late Mayor, now an ultra democrat, then an out and out federalist, was one of the vice

presidents of the Washington Benevolent Society. These firebrands of that fine old party are now shining lights in the Loco-Foco camp, and abuse their old associates who continue to fight under their original colors. How do the very stones rise up in judgment against them!

In September, 1846, the new Stewart Building was nearly completed, and Mr. Hone recorded the fact. He observed also on that day:—

There is nothing in Paris or London to compare with this dry goods palace. My attention was attracted in passing this morning to a most extraordinary, and I think useless, piece of extravagance. Several of the windows on the first floor, nearly level with the street, are formed of plate glass, six feet by eleven, which must have cost four or five hundred dollars each, and may be shattered by a boy's marble or a snowball as effectually as by a four pound shot; and I am greatly mistaken if there are not persons (one is enough) in this heterogeneous mass of population influenced by jealousy, malice, or other instigation of the devil, bad enough to do such a deed of mischief.

Washington Hall, which was burned, was a public hall for meetings and also a hotel. The land was sold to A. T. Stewart for \$65,000. The site of the block was 151 ft. on Broadway and 225 ft. on Reade and Chambers streets. On April 20, 1906, this property was sold by the Hilton estate to Felix Isman, of Philadelphia, for \$4,500,000. The Stewart Building, as the structure is still called, is now used by the city of New York to house several of its municipal and county departments. The land is assessed for 1911 at \$4,225,000.

A year before his death, Mayor Hone wrote:—

“May 30, 1850.—The mania for converting Broadway into a street of shops is greater than ever. There is scarcely a block in the whole extent of this fine street of which some part is not in a state of transmutation.”

By “the whole extent” of Broadway he meant “this fine street” from Bond street to Bowling Green.

The Bear Flag Revolution

BY AL H. MARTIN

CONCEIVED in the matrix of flaming patriotism; emblematic of the adventurers who had crossed a continent to possess a foreign land, the famous Bear Flag of California has garnered fame unrivalled by the banners of sister commonwealths. Around its birth Legend has woven fanciful stories, until the origin of the famous banner has become shrouded in the illusions of a fond and admiring people. Yet the sober facts are tinted with a romance and beauty that pales into insignificance the more vacant fabrications of fiction.

For long years preceding the clash between Mexico and the United States, which culminated in the Mexican War, England, France, Russia, the United States and other nations had cast covetous eyes on the fertile lands and sun-kissed waters of California. The very name was founded on romance, and the golden spirit of its people seemed but reflections of a perfect climate and unsurpassed natural advantages. The great westward movement of the American race was in full swing before 1840 and hundreds of immigrants from the eastern states had found cherished homes in the broad valleys of the new land. So serious had the invasion of the Americans become to be considered by the native Californians, that in 1845 decisive steps were taken to check the power of the great alien march from the East. Following a series of disorders and factional disputes Governor Manuel Micheltorena was deposed and the reins of government delegated to Pio Pico, the last Mexican governor to preside over the destinies of California. General Jose Castro, a man of intense patriotism, possessing an undying hatred for all foreigners, and commanding fair ability, was appointed commander-in-chief of the military. Castro immediately assumed an aggres-

sive policy toward all foreigners, with Americans given particular attention. An order was promulgated ordering all Americans to leave the country, but no immediate attempt was made to enforce the command, and the Americans treated it with general contempt. But in June, 1846, through a misunderstanding the long-smouldering feud between Americans and Californians suddenly blazed forth. Castro had ordered Lieutenant Francisco de Arce to take a small body of soldiers and remove some government horses from the Mission San Rafael to the headquarters at Santa Clara. De Arce took a guard of 14 men to execute the order. At New Helvetia, now the city of Sacramento, the Californians were forced to cross the Sacramento river, this being the only point where the horses could swim the turbulent stream. An Indian watched the fording and reported to the American settlers that two or three hundred armed Californians were invading the valley. Captain Fremont and his band of explorers were encamped about sixty miles above Sutter's Fort, and the Americans instantly decided de Arce was marching north to attack the Pathfinder. Intense excitement prevailed, the news flew from village to village, and the settlers armed themselves and almost to a man joined Fremont and his little band. Here they met William Knight, who had met de Arce and his command with the horses. Knight stated de Arce had said that Castro had finally decided to expel the Americans from the Sacramento valley and that the horses were to constitute part of a battalion of two hundred men. As soon as this force was assembled the Americans would be driven from the country and the Bear River pass sealed to prevent further arrival of immigrants from the United States. The settlers were men of daring and resource, little disposed to submit to the high-handed methods of the Mexican commandant. A consultation was held and a decision reached to pursue de Arce and capture the horses. By this means the designs of Castro would be checkmated. Twelve men volunteered for the expedition, and the oldest, Ezekial Merritt, was selected for captain. The little force stole upon the Californians at daylight on June 10, 1846, and effected a complete surprise. De Arce immediately surrendered. The Americans

confiscated the horses but permitted the men to depart freely. The revolution had been inaugurated.

Finding new-comers had swelled his force to thirty-three, the intrepid Merritt resolved on a master-stroke. An advance was ordered on the town and military post of Sonoma, and on the morning of the 14th of June the place was surprised by the handful of farmers. General M. G. Vallejo, Colonel Victor Prudon, Captain Salvador Vallejo and Jacob P. Leese were placed under arrest and taken to Sutter's Fort. Merritt took personal command of the accompanying guard, and a force of eighteen men was left to garrison Sonoma. William B. Ide was chosen commander and a military protectorate established. Within a few days arrivals had increased the force of Americans to forty. Ide held a consultation with his men and on the 18th of June issued a proclamation setting forth the objects of the revolutionary movement, and the principles to be followed in the event of success. The Americans were men of iron, and the edict did not mince words nor deal cautiously with the great problems confronting the hour. The revolutionists knew well what awaited them in case of failure. Already Fremont had been asked to join his forces with them, take command, and declare war against the Mexican Government. But the American army officer was forced to reject the offer, although his sympathies were avowedly in favor of his countrymen. War had not been declared between the two nations, and the American settlers were rebels against the constitutional authority of Mexico. But the vision of a blank wall, and a file of soldiers at sunrise held no terrors for the virile men who had made homes three thousand miles from their birthplace, and had already demonstrated their right to the seats of the strong. Mexican bullets and nameless graves might be waiting, but before the harvesting many would be the reapers who would pass ere the work was done. Barred from the colors of their own land the Americans determined on the creation of a banner of their own--a banner strikingly symbolical of the spirit and courage of the hour.

To Granville P. Swift, Peter Storm, William L. Todd and Henry L. Ford was intrusted the work. A piece of new, unbleached muslin was procured to which Mrs. John Sears sewed

strips of red flannel at the bottom. The drawing of a suitable emblem was delegated to Todd. He proposed the lone star of Texas, and Ford suggested the additional figure of a grizzly bear. Both forms were adopted. The star was placed in the upper left-hand corner of the flag and the image of a bear in the upper central section. The figures were first sketched with pen and ink. Immediately below the bear were the words "California Republic." The bear and star were painted with pigment made of linseed oil and Venetian red or Spanish brown. The words were filled in with ink. The banner was first raised over the bulwarks of Sonoma on June 18th. It is not strange that the lone star and grizzly bear had been decided on as fitting emblems. The heroic fight of Texas against the tyranny of Mexico had won the admiration of the world, and the famous single star had fired the imagination of the American people. The grizzly bear was most fittingly symbolic of California. From the first coming of Man to the mountains of California had the grizzly been known and justly respected. Supreme monarch of hill and vale, fierce as the mother tigress, stately, courageous; the very personification of resistless power, it was right that the great bear should be selected as typifying the spirit and resolution of the men constituting the new dominion. In their hearts dwelt loyalty for the land of their birth, reverence for its institutions, a fierce aching love for the starry banner they had cherished from childhood's rosy hours. But they were not permitted the use of their native colors in warfare against a foreign people.

Proudly the Bear Flag floated over the bulwarks of Sonoma until July 11th, twenty-three days after its raising, when the news was received that the United States had declared war against Mexico, and California had been seized in the name of the American people by Commodore Sloat. The receipt of the long-prayed for tidings sent a thrill of joy and patriotism through the ranks of the Bear Flag insurgents. Gently the Bear Flag was lowered and in its place rose the Stars and Stripes. The colors had been sent to Sonoma by Commander Montgomery, of the sloop-of-war Portsmouth, lying in San Francisco bay. Little did the insurgents dream of the reverence with which the Bear Flag was to be cherished in after years. For them it had

been but the substitute for the proud banner of their fathers. But deeply as the National banner is cherished in California, the love for the Bear Flag has grown with the years, and its story is proudly told when the sons and daughters of California gather. Insignia of a brave people it has garnered honors and reverence with the advancing years, and for decades the original banner was proudly displayed in the quarters of the Society of California Pioneers, at San Francisco. The terrible earthquake and fire which devastated San Francisco on the 18th day of April, 1906, destroyed the famous flag and guidon, also the only photographs ever taken of the historic standard. The photographs now in existence are mostly reproductions of original views secured from the burned plates. Other towns have claimed the birthplace of the Bear Flag, and other banners have advanced pre-eminent pretensions, but to Sonoma and the standard flung to the breeze June 18th, 1846, belong the crowning honors.

As nearly as it has been possible to ascertain, the members of the Bear Flag party were: Ezekial Merritt, William M. Scott, William Dickey, Granville P. Swift, Robert Semple, Henry L. Ford, Samuel Gibson, William Anderson, Samuel Neal, James A. Jones, W. Barti, William B. Ide, John Potter, Henry Booker, William Fallon, Henry Beason, George Fowler, Horace Sanders, Thomas Cowie, John H. Lelly, John Gibbs, Benjamin Dewell, Harvey Porterfield, Franklin Bedwell, Joseph Wood, William B. Elliott, Andrew Kelsey, William Hargrave, John Grigsby, William Knight, Ab Elliott, David Hudson and Frank Grigsby. Others there were, but the pencil of Time has dealt less lightly with their memories. Such were the men forming a portion of the little battalion that conquered California in the face of overwhelming numbers and obstacles calculated to daunt the hearts of the boldest.

History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXXIV

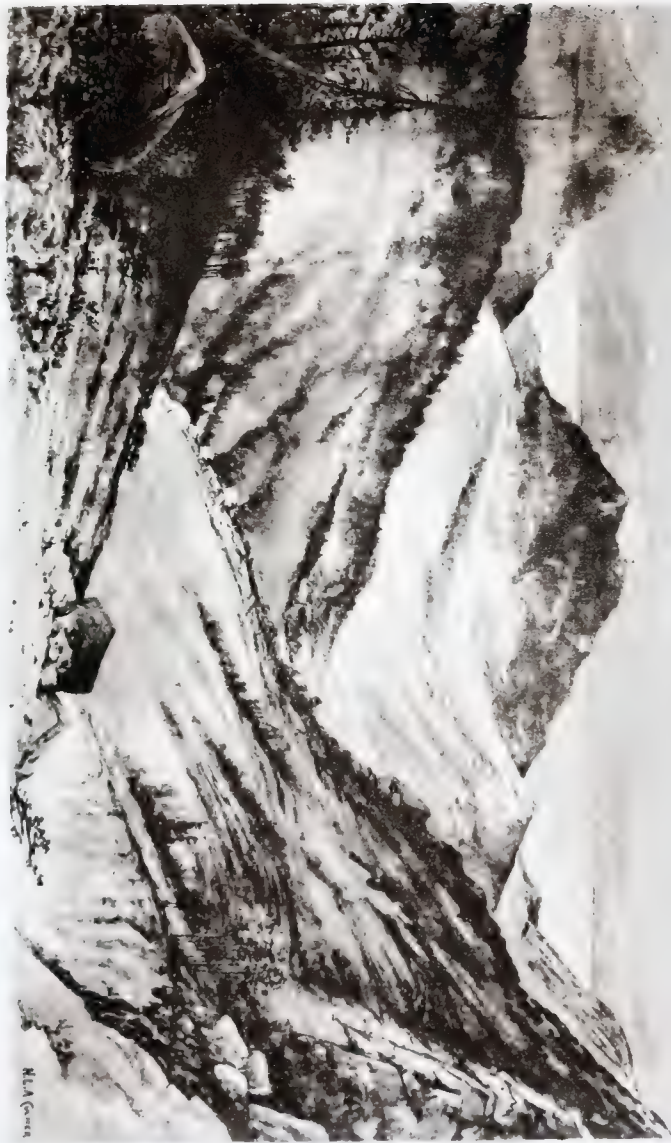
ARRIVAL OF PUEBLO DETACHMENTS OF THE MORMON BATTALION.
PIONEER WOMEN. RETURN OF PIONEERS TO WINTER
QUARTERS.

IT will be remembered that Elder Amasa M. Lyman was sent from Fort Laramie early in June, in company with three others, to meet the Battalion detachments *en route* from Pueblo to join the Pioneers. On the 27th of July he rode into the Pioneer encampment at Salt Lake, and reported that these detachments of the Battalion, under command of Captain James Brown, together with the company of Mississippi Saints, were now within two days' march of Salt Lake Valley. President Young and the Twelve, with some others, two days later, formed a mounted company and met these Battalion and Mississippi companies at the mouth of Emigration Canon. There were about 140 of the Battalion; 100 of the Mississippi Saints, swelling the number that had arrived in Salt Lake Valley to about 400 souls. These last arrivals altogether had about 60 wagons, 100 head of horses and mules, and 300 head of cattle.¹

The detachments of the Battalion presented a problem to the council of the Twelve. They were under orders to march to California, but the term of their enlistment had expired on the 16th of July. Did the officers in command have the right to muster them out of service? What would be the moral effect in the

1. Woodruff's Journal, Ms. entry for 29th July. Also Erastus Snow's Journal, entry of 28th July.

North of Summit of Mt. Mansfield



N.H. Green

United States if these detachments were mustered out of service here in Mexican territory without other authority than the Mormon officers in command? It was finally determined, after being considered in council, that the Battalion should be mustered out of service, and Captain James Brown and a small company piloted by Mr. Samuel Brannan, should go to California and report to the U. S. army officials there, taking with them a power of attorney from each member of these detachments of the Battalion to collect the balance of pay due for his service. That Captain Brown made his report and drew the pay as agreed upon by the members of the Battalion has already been noted.²

The day after their arrival in the valley the Battalion contributed to the community service by erecting a bowery 40x28 feet under which to hold religious worship on the ensuing Sabbath day—and a grateful shade it must have been from the constant glare of the sunshine in that transparent atmosphere, where no forest temple presented solemn depths of shade for that holy purpose. Also during this first week in the valley Col. Stephen Markham reported that thirteen plows and three harrows had been stocked, and three lots of ground broken up and one lot of thirty-five acres planted in corn, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, beans and garden seed.’³

Three days after the arrival of the Pioneers their camp was visited by Indians located in the valley. There were two tribes, “Utes,” or “Utah’s,, and “Shoshones.” The visits grew in frequency and with constantly increasing numbers. On one occasion within the first week, when representatives of both tribes were in the Pioneer camp, a Ute stole a horse from a Shoshone and rode up the valley with his prize. He was followed by the Shoshones, however, who killed him and returned to the Pioneer camp with the stolen horse. The frequency of these Indian visits with their begging and persistent efforts to trade for guns, ammunition and clothing, was likely to become a great incon-

2 *Ante*, this History, Ch. LXVI.

3. History of Brigham Ms., Bk. 3. Journal entry for July 31st, '47. These grains and vegetables did not mature: “Although,” writes Parley P. Pratt, “there were obtained for seed a few small potatoes from the size of a pea upward to that of half an inch in diameter. These being sound and planted another year produced some very fine potatoes, and, finally, contributed mainly in seeding the territory with that almost indispensable article of food.” Pratt’s Autobiography, 1874, p. 401.

venience to the colony, and therefore at the public meeting held in the second Sunday in the valley a resolution was adopted "to trade no more with the Indians except at their own encampment; and hold out no inducements to their visiting our camp."⁴

President Young must have taken quite seriously such irregularities of the camp of the Pioneers as we have already noticed in a former chapter;⁵ for he now proposed to them a solemn renewal of their covenants to righteousness, a new avowal of their acceptance of the gospel of Jesus Christ, by baptism, President Young himself to set the example.⁶ This was first proposed to the Twelve and their immediate associates, then to the camp, now more properly, perhaps, to be considered as a colony.

The proposition was joyfully and very generally accepted by the Saints.

On the 7th of August a selection of blocks within the City survey was made by the Twelve for themselves and their immediate friends.⁷ It was also decided that one of these ten acre

4. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry Aug. 1st. A number of Indians were in the Pioneer camp when this resolution was passed; and whether they learned the import of it or not, during the night they left and visits from them became less frequent. (Woodruff Journal entry Aug. 1st). The Utes are referred to as apparently friendly "and not disposed to steal, though they have a bad name from some of the mountaineers." (Ibid entry July 28th).

5. *Ante*, Ch. LXIX.

6. The Baptisms began on the 6th of August. Brigham Young was the first to receive the rite; then Heber C. Kimball and all the rest of the Twelve. ("August 6th: At night I was baptized by Elder Kimball, and then baptized Elders Kimball, Richards, etc." . . . who were confirmed at the water's edge and set an example to the Church. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Book 3, Journal entry). This quotation because some writers reverse the order, and say President Young first baptized his associates. All received the ordinance of confirmation, and in connection therewith had sealed upon them the holy Apostleship "with all the keys, powers and blessings belonging to that office." "We considered this a duty and a privilege," writes Wilford Woodruff, "as we had come into a glorious valley to locate and build a temple, and build up Zion—we felt like renewing our covenants before the Lord and each other." (Journal, entry for Aug. 6th) on the 7th—Saturday—55 brethren were baptized. Sunday when the proposition was presented to the congregation, 224 responded, making a total of 268.

7. "In the afternoon the Twelve went on to the Temple Block and picked out their inheritances. President Young took a block east of the Temple, and running southeast to settle his friends around him. Brother Heber C. Kimball took a block north of the Temple, and will settle his friends on the north. (President Young says Kimball's block was N. E. of the Temple—Journal, entry Aug. 7th, Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 3). O. Pratt south of the Temple, joining the Temple Block and runs south. W. Woodruff took a block cornering on the Temple lot at the southwest corner, joining O. Pratt's block and will settle his friends on the south. A. Lyman took a block 40 rods below or west of W. Woodruff's block, and runs southwest of the Temple [on which] to settle his friends. Geo. A. Smith took a block joining the Temple on the west and runs due west. It was supposed Bro. (Willard) Richards

blocks should be inclosed by building houses of logs or adobes—sundried bricks—in the form of a fort, as a protection against possible Indian assaults. There were to be gateways on opposite sides of the enclosure; the buildings to be 8 or 9 feet high, 14 feet wide and 16 or 17 feet long; the chimneys were to be made of “adobes,” the hearths of clay. All openings were to be on the inside of the enclosure, except such port holes on the outside as might be judged necessary for observing the approach of an enemy. The block selected for this enclosure was four blocks south and three blocks west of the temple site, long afterwards called the “Old Fort,” then “Pioneer Square,” now a public park and play ground for children.⁸ Work upon the fort began on the 11th of August; and by the evening of the 21st Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball moved into their “houses,” being the first to do so.⁹ Meantime the name for the city occupied the attention of the council of the Apostles. It was decided first to call it “*The City of the Salt Lake, Great Basin, North America.*” This in the council of the Apostles on the 14th of August.¹⁰ On Sunday the 22nd, the name was presented to the congregation and accepted. At the same time names were adopted for local streams. The “Utah Outlet,” which carried the overflow from Utah, or Timpanogis Lake, to the Great Salt Lake, was called “Western Jordan.”¹¹ The

would take his inheritance on the east, near Bro. Young. None others of the Twelve were present in the camp. Bro. Benson had gone back to meet the camps, [then enroute for the valley] and three of the quorum were in Winter Quarters” (Woodruff’s Journal, entry 7th of August). After this there was some slight changes made in the first selection of blocks, chiefly, however, in extending the blocks into tiers of blocks in the direction of the side from which they respectively started from the Temple, and these to be subdivided among the immediate friends of the Apostles making choice of said tier. (Woodruff’s Journal, entry for 13th Aug.).

8. See city plat accompanying Ch. LXXIII.

9. Woodruff’s Journal, entry for Aug. 11th and 21st respectively.

10. Woodruff’s Journal, entries for 14th and 22d August.

11. This to distinguish it from the Jordan of the East, Palestine. It was doubtless the case, though nothing is said of it in the journals of those days, that the similarity of physical features of the Salt Lake Valley and Palestine led to calling this “Outlet” “Western Jordan.” Palestine has its Dead Sea, so called because it has no outlet, no life abounds in its waters, and its shores are desolate. Upwards of sixty miles northward is the fresh water lake, or Sea of Galilee, from which flows the Jordan River to the Salt Sea. It will be observed that in Utah the salt sea is in the north, the fresh water lake in the south, and the connecting stream flows northward; whereas in Palestine these similar natural features are reversed in location; but the fact of their existence, though in reversed order, would be sufficient to suggest naming the connecting stream between the bodies of fresh and salt water the “Western Jordan.”

stream running through the site surveyed for the city was called "City Creek." Two creeks coming out of the next two considerable canons were called "Little Canon and Big Canon Creek,"¹² respectively; and the larger stream beyond these was named Mill Creek.

The first name given to the city founded by the Pioneers—"City of the Salt Lake"—was changed when the city received its charter of incorporation—1851—to "Great Salt Lake City." Subsequently the "Great" was dropped and the name became as it still remains—"Salt Lake City." "Western" soon went into disuse as a descriptive pre-fix to "Jordan," and "The Jordan" became and remains the name of the "Utah Outlet." The Canon Creeks, Little and Big, shortly became "Emigration" and "Parley's Canon Creek," respectively.

The fact of human life and death was early asserted in the Salt Lake Colony. A daughter was born to one of the Battalion families which had wintered at Pueblo. The ninth of August was the date a tent on Temple square the place. The father and mother were John and Catherine Campbell Steel, and the child was named "Young Elizabeth Steel," being named for President Young and Queen Elizabeth of England. A second child was born on the 15th of August, in the family of Geo. W. Therkill, one of the families of the company of Saints from Mississippi, which had wintered at Pueblo and joined the Pioneers from Winter Quarters at Fort Laramie on the first of June, and journeyed with them to Salt Lake Valley. An examination of the roster of Orson Pratt's Advance Company will disclose the fact that quite a number of this Mississippi contingent was enrolled in that company.

This second child was also a daughter and was named Hattie A. Therkill. It was in the family of Geo. W. Therkill also that the angel of death struck down his first victim in the valley. A child three years old, a boy, playing on the banks of City Creek fell in and was drowned. His body was found in the creek about 5 p. m. of the 11th of August. The occurrence threw

12. Since called "Emigration" and "Parley's Canon Creek," respectively, the latter named after Parley P. Pratt.

a gloom over the colony, which President Young sought to dispel on the following Sunday by a discourse on the sureness of the salvation of children.¹³

In connection with these incidents in the Crow family, the mother of which would be so affected by this birth and death in her household, separated only by four days, it is but proper to say that the women of this Mississippi Company of Saints who entered Salt Lake Valley with the Pioneers have been quite generally overlooked. Much has been written of the three noble women who accompanied the Pioneers from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake Valley, so much, in fact, that the idea quite generally prevails that they were the only women who entered the valley with the Pioneer company. That, however, is not the case. In the advance company of seventeen Mississippi Saints which joined the Pioneer Company from Winter Quarters at Fort Laramie, on the first of June, six of them were women and girls, viz.:

Elizabeth Crow,
Harriet Crow,
Elizabeth J. Crow,

Ira Vinda Exene Crow, |
Iraminda Almarene Crow, |¹⁴
Martilla Jane Therkill.

These women from the state of Mississippi, sharing the hardships and toils of the journey; braving the uncertainties and dangers of Pioneer life; sacrificing the conveniences and even luxuries of their southern homes—for they were among the well-to-do planter families of the south—their names and sacrifices and toils and sufferings for the Gospel's sake, and in opening a new place of settlement for the Church, no less than their sister Pioneers from Nauvoo and Winter Quarters, are worthy a place in song and story,—and in the Latter-day Saint Pioneer History. Elizabeth Crow was an aunt of John Brown's, the latter the daily companion of Orson Pratt in the last stages of the Pioneers' journey. Elizabeth's father "was Captain Benjamin Brown, brother of Bishop John Brown, and served through the

13. Woodruff's Journal, entry of July 22d.

14. Twin Sisters.

war of the American Revolution." The other five women of this group are thought to be her daughters.¹⁵

With the arrival of the Invalided Battalion detachments and the families that had wintered with them at Pueblo, and the families that made up the balance of the Mississippi company, all of whom arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on the 29th of July—only five days after the advent of Brigham Young—the number of Pioneer women, of course, was very greatly increased; and these were still further augmented by the large companies which arrived in the valley between the middle of September and the 10th of October, 1847; by which time, 2,095 souls had arrived in the valley, in which the number of women exceeded that of the men.¹⁶

It can also be said that in this movement of the church to the west both as to these first Pioneer companies and in all Pioneer companies that followed them, the Mormon women, in all that makes for heroism, patient endurance, silent suffering, tender sympathy issuing from love's fountain, calm courage, and clear, soul-inspiring faith,—were not one whit behind their brothers. In all things the men and women of this movement were worthy of each other.

Meantime exploration had been pushed as far north as Cache and Bear River valleys, and as far south as Utah Lake. The

15. Elizabeth (Brown) Crow was born in South Carolina, 1795, and died in California in 1893. "Fifty years ago To-Day" (The date for this collection of events was compiled for the publishers, for the most part, by Franklin D. Richards, Church Historian, at the time, 1897; and by John Jaques and Milton A. Musser, Assistant Church Historians. See Addenda to Compilation of July 24th, 1897.

16. Doubtless the most sympathetic and thoughtful appreciation of the women pioneers of the Mormon community, and of their class in all colony planting, was expressed in an address by Dr. Charles William Elliot, at the time—1892—President of Harvard University. This address was delivered before a very large gathering in the "Mormon Tabernacle" at Salt Lake City, on the evening of the 16th of March of the year above given. The detention of the Doctor's train in the wilderness of the Rocky Mountains led to reflections upon the Pioneer journey through that wilderness, and the "Planting" of the first colony in Utah, which he characterized by the terms "superb" and "christian." Then: "Did it ever occur to you what is the most heroic part of planting a colony of people which moves into a wilderness to establish a civilized community? You think, perhaps, it is the soldier, the armed man or the laboring man. Not so; it is the women who are the most heroic part of any new colony (Applause). Their labors are the less because their strength is less. Their anxieties are greater, their dangers greater, the risks they run are heavier. We read that story in the history of the Pilgrim and puritan colonies of Massachusetts. *The women died faster than the men; they suffered more.* Perhaps their reward was greater too. They bore children to the colony. Let us bear in our hearts veneration for the women of any christian folk going out in the wilderness to plant a new community." (*Deseret Evening News*, March 17, 1892.)

exploring party of four who had gone north had accompanied Captain James Brown and Samuel Brannan's party which started for California *via* of Fort Hall on the 9th of August. Returning on the 14th these explorers of the North valleys brought cheering news to the Salt Lake colony. "The messengers," writes Wilford Woodruff, "bring a glorious report of Cache Valley and the country between us and there,—that is, rich soil and well watered, and well calculated for farming purposes. Also Bear River Valley for stock grazing." The party called on Miles Goodyear, at the mouth of Weber canon, where he had a small garden picketed—"corn and vegetables doing well,"¹⁷ was the report. The expedition to Utah Lake and valley had for its object the securing of fish, and ascertaining to what extent the fish of the lake could be counted upon as a source of food supply. In this the exploration was not very successful.

With so much accomplished, preparations began for the return of some of the Pioneers to Winter Quarters to arrange for the migration of the body of the church to the new home that had been selected. There were also a large number of the Battalion men anxious to return to their families; accordingly, on the 16th of August, a company of Pioneers and Battalion men were organized and rendezvoused at the mouth of Emigration Canon for the return journey.¹⁸ There were 24 of the Pioneers and 46 of the Battalion; 34 wagons; 92 yoke of oxen; 18 horses; and 14 mules. The company's teams being principally made up of oxen, it is spoken of in our annals as the "ox train of returning Pioneers;" and being so made up it was thought this company would need a week or ten days the start of a company intending to start later, in which there would be no ox teams. Rather to the annoyance of the horse and mule train, however, they did not overtake the ox train, though the latter waited for them five days on the Platte; during which time they had killed and dried the meat of 30 buffalo cows. It was demonstrated both on the out going and returning journey that, all in all, oxen, unless horses and mules were grain

17. Woodruff's Journal, entry Aug. 14.

18. Hist. B. Young Ms., Bk. 3 Journal, entry Aug. 16. Bancroft gives date of starting as 17th Aug.

fed *en route*, made the better team for crossing the plains, as they would make from 15 to 25 miles per day and often gain in strength with no other feed than the grass of the plains and the brouse and grass of the hills.²⁰

The "Ox train" was under the captaincy of Shadrach Roudy and Tunis Rappely, though Lieutenant Wesley Willis was in command of the Battalion members of the camp.²¹

Ten days later, August 26th, the second company of Pioneers and Battalion members started on the return journey. There were 107 persons; 71 horses, and 49 mules.²² The company was unable to take with it any ample stock of provisions, as what had been brought by the Pioneer company was necessary and none too plentiful for those who must remain. Accordingly the returning companies would depend chiefly upon the game and fish that might be taken en route to Winter Quarters, supplemented by such provisions as could be spared by the immigrating companies they would meet.

"Father John Smith," so he was familiarly called by "all Israel," uncle of the Prophet Joseph, and a very worthy man, was left in charge of the colony at Salt Lake, as Brigham Young then and even after the reorganization of the First Presidency, made it part of his administrative policy to have with him, or within easy call, a majority of the Twelve Apostles. Seven members of that council started with President Young on this return journey, as Ezra T. Benson, the other member of the group of eight Apostles who made the westward journey, had been sent with three companions from the colony on the 2nd of August, to meet the companies of saints then *en route*²³ from Winter Quarters, with the glad tidings that the place for settlement had been located, seeds planted, the site for a temple chosen, and the work of laying out the city begun—good news indeed for exiles now in the second year of camp life with no certain abiding place.

20. "The grass is getting dry and not much substance in it, and our horses are failing upon it. I am thoroughly convinced that oxen are far preferable to either horses or mules for such a journey" (Woodruff's Journal, entry for 5th Oct., '47. Other journals *passim* to the same effect).

21. Richard's Narrative, Ms., p. 13-14.

22. Ibid, quoted by Bancroft, Hist. Utah, p. 265, note.

23. Woodruff's Journal, entry for Aug. 1st and 2d.

On leaving the Colony at Salt Lake, as he and Heber C. Kimball mounted their horses; Brigham Young rose in his stirrups and shouted—

“*Good-bye to all who tarry! I fell well!*”²⁴

And so departed.

Four days out they met their fellow Apostle Elder Benson and companions returning from their visit to the approaching nine companies of Saints. He brought to the Pioneers letters from their friends and families both *en route* and at Winter Quarters, as also news from the outside world. Benson returned Eastward with his fellow Apostles, while his companions went on to the valley with their precious mail and news of the whereabouts of the approaching companies, and the probable time of their arrival.

On Big Sandy River the returning Pioneers met the first of the westbound companies of the Saints, the fifties of Parley P. Pratt and Peregrine Sessions, this is on the 4th of September. Some disarrangement of plans had occurred with reference to the organization and order of marching of these companies—plans worked out by President Young and his associates before they left Winter Quarters for the Pioneer Journey.

It will be remembered that two members of the Apostles' quorum had just arrived from England on the eve of the departure of the Pioneer camp, Elders Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor. They had not had the advantage of associating with the rest of the quorum in projecting and maturing these plans of the journey, and yet as ranking officers in the church, after the departure of all the rest of the presiding council, they were very naturally looked upon as the directing and presiding authority in forming and marching the camp. Besides the disarrangement of the order of procedure, there had been manifested *en route* some disorder in the companies, some bickering and jealousies as to rights of precedence in the order of march, a thing not to be wondered at when the number—more than fifteen hundred people—are taken into account. For disarranging the plans projected by the majority of the Apostles' quorum—“also governed by revela-

24. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 3, Journal, entry 2d August.

tion," remarks Elder Woodruff—and for some disorder in the companies, the two Apostles, Elders Pratt and Taylor, were taken sharply to task before the council at this meeting with the first companies. Elder Pratt was the ranking Apostle of the two, and had taken the lead in these matters, and upon his head fell the burden of reproof. "Brother Young chastized him for his course," writes Wilford Woodruff, "and taught us principle."

"He said that when we set apart one or more of the Twelve to go and do a certain piece of work they would be blessed in doing that, and the quorum would back up what they did; but when one or more of the quorum interfered with the work of the majority of the quorum, they burn their fingers and do wrong. When the majority of the quorum of the Twelve plant a stake of Zion, and establish a President over the stake, and appoint a High Council then has the minority of the Twelve, one or more, any right to go and interfere with those councils? No; unless they [the councils] should get corrupt and do wrong. Then it would be the duty of any one of the quorum of the Twelve to show them their error and teach them what was right; and should the majority of those councils get corrupt and try to lead astray the people, it would then be the duty of any one of the Twelve to disannul those councils and call upon the people to sustain him and appoint a new one; but while the councils are trying to do right, it would be the duty of the Twelve who might be with them, to assist them in carrying out those views that the majority of the Twelve had established."²⁵

The council sustained President Young's reproof; and although Elder Pratt was not at first disposed to accept it, he finally yielded and acknowledged his error and was forgiven.²⁶ President Young took occasion to refer to the burden he felt he

25. Woodruff's Journal, entry 4th Sept., '47.

26. In order to disclose the spirit in which these men wrought, I here subjoin Elder Pratt's account of the culmination of this affair: "I was charged with neglecting to observe the order of organization entered into under the superintendence of the President before he left the camps at Winter Quarters; and of variously interfering with previous arrangements. In short, I was severely reproved and chastened. I no doubt deserved this chastisement; and I humbled myself, acknowledged my faults and errors, and asked forgiveness. I was frankly forgiven, and, bidding each other farewell, each company passed on its way. This school of experience made me more humble and careful in future, and I think it was the means of making me a wiser and a better man ever after." (Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, pp. 400, 401.)

was carrying, writes Milford Woodruff, and declared that "he would chastize brother Parley or any other one of the quorum as much as he pleased, when they were out of the way, and they could not help themselves; but he did it for their good, and only did it when constrained to do it by the power of God."

Elder Kimball followed Brother Young, the account is from Woodruff's Journal: He said he wanted Brother Young "to rest as much as possible, and let his brethren bear his burdens." He said he wanted Brother Young to save himself, for he was wearing down. "I feel tender towards you—I want you to live; and if I or my brethren do wrong, tell us of it, and we will repent." Brother Brigham Young said there was not a better set of men on earth than the Twelve, and he intended to chastize them when they need it that they might be saved and love him and stick to him.²⁷

"We all felt it good to be there, for the Lord was with us," is the concluding sentence of Elder Woodruff's account. Two days later, on the Sweet Water, the returning company met Elder Taylor's and Joseph Hornes' companies. Several inches of snow had fallen. Snow! and this early in September! The incident occasioned some anxiety among the Saints concerning the climate of the mountain region to which they were moving. Elder Taylor turned the incident to a theme of merriment, bade them be of good cheer, and proposed to insure the lives of the whole company "at \$5 per head."²⁸

These camps made a feast for the returning pioneers. It was in the nature of a surprise. While the Twelve and other prominent Elders were engaged in council meetings, the sisters had prepared a feast worthy of their guests. One hundred and thirty sat down to the meal which was royally served.²⁹ A dance party

27. Woodruff's Journal, entry Sept. 4th, '47.

28. Life of John Taylor, p. 190.

29. "Several improvised tables of uncommon length, covered with snow-white linen, and fast being burdened with glittering tableware, gave evidence that a surprise was in store for the weary Pioneers. Game and fish were prepared in abundance; fruits, jellies and relishes reserved for special occasions were brought out until truly it was a royal feast.

"Moreover, though the place selected for the spread was adjacent to the camp, it was successful as a surprise. The Pioneers knew nothing of what had taken place until they were led by Elder Taylor through a natural opening in the bushes fringing the enclosure, and the grand feast burst upon their astonished vision.

"One hundred and thirty sat down at the supper; and if for a moment rising

followed in the evening, and something of the weariness and the monotony of the past year was forgotten.

On the 9th of September the returning Pioneers met the last company of westward bound Saints, led by Jedediah M. Grant. He brought news of them from the East. He told them of the continued warm friendship of Col. Kane, and of the inveterate opposition of Senator Benton of Missouri. During the night about fifty head of horses were stolen by the Indians. Thirty from the Pioneer's camp, twenty from Grant's. Horsemen were sent out in pursuit of the stolen animals, but only succeeded in bringing back five of the missing horses. This loss materially weakened both encampments.³⁰

Nothing further happened of note on the return trip of the Pioneers except an attack on the camp on the morning of the 21st of September by a war band of Sioux Indians. The attack was made just as the order had been given to bring in the horses preparatory to starting on the day's drive. The Indians charged simultaneously on the camp and on the herders in the hope of throwing all into confusion. In this, however, they were disappointed as the brethren acted with great promptness and bravery, quickly arming themselves, and some of them mounting such horses as were at hand, they dashed into the very midst of the attacking party and secured most of the horses they had frightened and were attempting to steal. Eight or ten horses, however, in spite of all that could be done, were run off by the Indians.

Thwarted in their full design on the camp, the chief at the head of his two hundred warriors tried to explain the matter

emotions at this manifestation of love choked their utterance and threatened to blunt the edge of appetite, the danger soon passed under the genial influence of the sisters who waited upon the tables and pressed their guests to eat: in the end they paid a full and hearty compliment to the culinary skill of the sisters.

"Supper over and cleared away, preparations were made for dancing, and soon was added to the sweet confusion of laughter and cheerful conversation the merry strains of the violin, and the strong, clear voice of the prompter directing the dancers through the mazes of quadrilles, Scotch-reels, French-fours and other figures of harmless dances suitable to the guileless manners and the religious character of the participants. Dancing was interspersed with songs and recitations. 'We felt mutually edified and blessed,' writes Elder Taylor, 'we praised the Lord and blessed one another.' So closed a pleasant day, though the morning with its clouds and snow looked very unpromising." (History of John Taylor, Ch. XXI).

30. Woodruff's Journal, entries for Sept. 8th and 9th.

away by saying they were good Sioux, friends of the whites, and had mistaken the encampment of the whitemen for a camp of the Crow or Snake Indians, with whom they were at war. Some of these Indians were those whom the Pioneers had fed on the outward journey; and finally the chief proposed that if the white chief (Brigham Young), would go to his encampment they would smoke the peace pipe and return the horses run off that morning. It was not thought prudent for President Young to accept this proposal; but three of the brethren, *viz.*, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, and Stephen Markham volunteered to go in order to secure the horses, though the whole Pioneer camp knew that the chief's claim of mistaking the Pioneer camp for an encampment of Indians was a mere subterfuge. The Indian camp proved to be some six or seven miles distant, and all told there were over a hundred lodges, and about five or 600 people, with 1,000 horses. The pipe smoking ceremony over the three Pioneers were permitted to pick out their seven or eight head of horses, not an easy task, from a band of nearly one thousand. They also saw very many of the fifty head that had been stolen on the 9th inst., and spoke to the chief about returning them, and he gave them some encouragement to believe that he would return them at Fort Laramie; but nothing ever came of it.³¹ At Fort Laramie the Pioneers were overtaken by Commodore Stockton and about forty men returning from San Francisco Bay to the Eastern States. Presidents Young and Kimball dined with the Commodore at the Fort.

31. Woodruff Journal, Sept. 21st, '47. At Fort Laramie a plan was devised to get back the horses that was decidedly adventurous. Ten men were to go to the Indian encampment to negotiate for the return of the horses, followed an hour later by twenty-five men to be close at hand in the event of an emergency. The first company under command of Col. Stephen Markham; the second under E. T. Benson. The expedition had not proceeded far, however, when they learned that the Indian camp had been warned from the Fort to "cache up their horses," as this expedition had started to recover those belonging to the Pioneers (Woodruff's Journal, 24th and 25th Sept., '47). Of this circumstance Erastus Enow writes: "Mr. Bordeaux [in charge at Fort Laramie] at first promised to send an interpreter with our messengers and to use his influence in our favor; but the next day when we had made up a company well armed and mounted for the expedition, Mr. Bordeaux refused to send an interpreter, or rather stated that his men refused to go. He also spoke very discouragingly of the expedition and said the Indians would secret our horses and our efforts would be unavailing. Whether he was sincere in his counsel and advice or whether he was afraid of injuring his influence and trade with the Sioux, or whether he was leagued with them in their robberies, is more than I can determine." (Journal entry for date of incident).

After leaving Fort Laramie the journey down the Platte was slow and monotonous. The teams were constantly growing weaker, and food in the camp was often exhausted, and only intermittently replenished by the killing of game *en route*.

On the 18th of October a company of sixteen men with three wagons from Winter Quarters, led by Hosea Stout, Geo. D. Grant, and James W. Cummings, met President Young's camp. They had come to render such assistance as might be necessary to enable the Pioneers to reach Winter quarters. A second company of about twenty wagons, led by Bishop Newel K. Whitney and others, met the returning camp at the Elk Horn, bringing with them food and grain in abundance.

A mile from Winter Quarters the Pioneer camp was drawn up in regular marching order, addressed by President Young, and dismissed to go to their homes on arriving in the City.³² As they drove into the city, the streets were lined with the people who welcomed them with handshaking, exclamations of thanksgiving for their safe return, and with smiles through tears. The return journey of the Pioneers was completed.

* * * * *

Omitting the Pioneer and Mississippi companies, as already sufficiently accounted for in these pages, the other eleven companies of 1847, all arrived in Salt Lake valley by the tenth of October. The companies are listed by Thomas Bullock, secretary to Brigham Young and one of the Historians of Pioneer camp, as follows:

“Brigham Young's pioneer company, 148; Mississippi company, 47; Mormon battalion, 210; Daniel Spencer's, 204; Parley P. Pratt's, 198; A. O. Smoot's, 139; C. C. Rich's, 130; George

32. President Young's address, including a brief *resume* of the pioneer journey, according to his own record, was as follows, “Brethren, I will say to the Pioneers, I wish you would receive my thanks for your kindness and willingness to obey orders. I am satisfied with you—you have done well. We have accomplished more than we expected. Out of one hundred and forty-three men who started, some of them sick, all of them are well. Not a man has died; we have not lost a horse, mule or ox but through carelessness. The blessings of the Lord have been with us. If the brethren are satisfied with me and the Twelve please signify it by uplifted hands.”

All hands were raised. President Young continued:

“I feel to bless you in the name of the Lord God of Israel. You are dismissed to go to your own homes.” History of the Church,—Cannon,—*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 18, p. 327).

B. Wallace's, 198; Edward Hunter's, 155; Joseph Horne's, 197; J. B. Nobles, 171; W. Snow, 148; J. M. Grant's, 150.

"Making a total of 2,095 for the year."

To appreciate the heroism of this Latter-day Saint movement to the west, one must contemplate the chances taken by these companies which followed the Pioneers. It was late in the season when they started from the Elk Horn—the latter part of June—too late for them to put in crops that season even if they stopped far short of the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. They barely had provisions enough to last them eighteen months, and then if their first crop failed them in the new mountain home selected, starvation must follow for they would be from eight to ten hundred miles from the nearest point where food could be obtained, and no swifter means of transportation than horse or ox teams. It was a bold undertaking, this moving over two thousand souls—into an unknown country, and into the midst of tribes of savages of uncertain disposition, and of doubtful friendship. Had it not been for the assurance of the support and protection of God, it would have been not only a bold but a reckless movement—the action of madmen. But as it was, the undertaking was a sublime evidence of their faith in God and their leaders.

There is no question but these men had laid their all upon the altar of their faith in the providence of God, including their altar of their faith in the providences of God, including their fate. They must succeed or perish in the wilderness to which they had come; and with a faith that has never been surpassed, they placed themselves under the guidance and protection of God, and we shall see in the sequel that they trusted not in vain.

On Sunday the 3rd of October, a conference was held at the Salt Lake colony as arranged previous to the departure of the Pioneers. At this conference "Father John Smith," who had been left in charge of the colony of the Twelve, was chosen as the President of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion, with Charles C. Rich and John Young (brother of President Young) as counselors. President Young and all the Apostles were sustained as presiding over the church, except Lyman Wight, then in Texas. Action in his case was suspended until he could appear before the

Saints in person to render an account of his proceedings. A high council was chosen for the Salt Lake Stake, whose names follow:

Henry G. Sherwood, Thomas Grover, Levi Jackson, John Murdock, Daniel Spencer, Lewis Abbott, Ira Eldridge, Edison Whipple, Shadrack Roundy, John Vance, Willard Snow and Abraham O. Smoot.

Charles C. Rich who had been in charge of the artillery company while crossing the plains and the mountains was now elected military commander of the colony, under the direction of the stake authorities. Albert Carrington was elected clerk, Historian and deputy Post Master for the city of the Great Salt Lake. John Vancot was elected marshall of the City. This the crude beginning of civil government in the Salt Lake Valley.

The one block selected for inclosure by the Pioneers for homes was found inadequate for the number who made their way into the valley that fall; and as soon as this was apparent additions were made of one block adjoining on the north and another on the south, called the North and South Forts, respectively. They were connected with the "Old Fort" by gates, and each of them had gateways to the outside for ingress and egress. The houses on these additional blocks, as on the first one, were built solidly together of adobes or of logs, the highest wall on the outside, the shed-formed roof sloping inward. Acting both upon reports of the climate and the dryness of the soil in the valley, the people made the roofs of these houses, consisting of poles, brush, and earth, too flat, with the result that when the winter and early spring rains fell they leaked badly, much to the discomfort of the people.³³

33. "The result was that nearly every house leaked during the first winter, and umbrellas, where such a luxury as an umbrella was owned, were frequently in demand to shelter those engaged in cooking and even in bed persons would be seen sitting or lying under an umbrella." Hist. of the Ch.—Cannon—*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 60.

During the spring and early summer another block was evidently added to the three already described, since in a general epistle, issued after President Young arrived in Salt Lake Valley in the summer of 1848 it is said: "On our arrival in this valley we found the brethren had erected four forts, composed mostly of houses, including an area of about forty-seven acres." *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 228.



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Fortunately the first winter in the valley was a mild one; it would have been disastrous had it been severe.³⁴

Notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances the high spirits of the colonists never failed them. Religious services were regularly held; the gathering of Israel, the redemption of Zion, the hope of eternal life in celestial glory to such as love Jehovah, obey his law, and seek his honor and his glory—the assurance of God's approval in all this, voiced to their souls by the consciousness of the uprightness of their own intentions and efforts—kept hope bright in their humble lives. Joy and gladness were in their midst, "thanksgiving and the voice of melody." Again, as throughout their nearly two years sojourn in camps through Iowa, *en route* across the plains and over the mountains, the laughter of children was heard, woman's tender ministrations were in evidence, anniversaries of births and weddings were celebrated; there were wooings and weddings; there were dances and merriment; and where these are, privations, the hardships of pioneer life, scarcity of food and clothing, can never break down the spirit of man and make him hopeless.

CHAPTER LXXV

REORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST PRESIDENCY—GENERAL EPISTLE ON CHURCH POLITY—POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE SAINTS IN IOWA —LAST JOURNEY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG OVER THE PLAINS

Happily the harvest of 1847 had been abundant in all the settlements of the Saints on the Missouri river. "We found on our arrival that the brethren at Winter Quarters," writes Wil-

34. "Neither their food nor their clothing was of such a character as to enable them to endure cold weather. Many were without shoes, and the best and only covering they could get for their feet was moccasins. Their clothing, too, was pretty well exhausted, and the goat, deer, and elk skins which they could procure were most acceptable for clothing, though far from pleasant to wear in the rain or snow" (History of the Church—*Cannon-Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 60). "The winter was mild and pleasant," writes Parley P. Pratt, "several light snows and severe frosts; but the days were warm, and the snows soon melted off. The cattle did well all winter in the pastures without being fed. Horses, sheep and cattle were in better order in the spring than when we arrived, I mean those which were not kept up and worked or milked, but suffered to live where there was grass. Early in March the ground opened and we commenced plowing for spring crops." (Letter of Parley P. Pratt to Orson Pratt, Sept. 5th, 1848, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 22).

ford Woodruff" had been greatly blessed in their labors in tilling the earth, that it had brought forth a great abundance of corn, buckwheat, turnips and other vegetables, and the city was full of hay and surrounded with corn."¹ At a conference held on the east side of the Missouri in December, President Young in complimenting the brethren told them they had built, fenced, and made as many improvements in the short time they had been there, (i. e. on the Missouri) as they would in Missouri in about ten years," "and they have raised a crop," he adds, "equal to any we used to raise in Illinois."² This in a letter to Orson Spencer, 23rd January, 1848.

This circumstance relieved President Young and his associates of the Apostle's quorum of much anxiety; and left them free to consider at once many things concerning the church that were pressing for attention. Among these the removal of the Saints from the Omaha Indian lands, urged by the Indian agents, which involved the abandonment of Winter Quarters;³ the condition of the Saints scattered in the branches of the Church throughout the United States; the Church in the British Isles, and elsewhere; the forwarding of a printing press to the mountains; laying plans for the education of the youth of the community, soon to be gathered into the mountains; the reorganization of the First Presidency of the Church; the maintenance of the land holdings of the saints in Iowa and their political relationship to the people of Iowa—these and many other questions were all pressing for solution.

Council meetings of the Apostles' quorum and the high councils in the various settlements on the Missouri were held almost daily.

It was decided to vacate Winter Quarters in the spring; as many of its inhabitants as possible to go to Salt Lake Valley;

1. Woodruff's *Journal Ms.*, entry for Nov. 1st, '47.

2. President Young in a letter to *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 114.

3. "In compliance with the wishes of the sub-agents, we expect to vacate the Omaha lands in the spring." (General Epistle of the Twelve to the Church, Dec. 23d, 1847, *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 84. The sub-Indian agent was anxious for the removal of the Saints from Winter Quarters, but he wrote President Young prohibiting the Saints from moving their log cabins over the river to Kanessville. Shortly after this the agent wrote President Young soliciting charity in behalf of the Pawnee chiefs—"an appeal that was not made in vain, for the President caused that they should be supplied freely with beef and corn." "History of the Church," Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 18, p. 361.

and those who could not do this were to move to the east side of the river and locate at Kanessville, a settlement so named in honor of their friend Colonel Thomas L. Kane,⁴ but since called "Council Bluffs."

It was decided that Elder Jesse C. Little who had made the journey to the Salt Lake Valley with the Pioneers and had returned with them, should resume the presidency of the churches in the eastern states; that John Brown, another of the Pioneers, be appointed to labor in the southern states; that Ezra T. Benson, Amasa M. Lyman and a number of other Elders should visit the branches of the Church in the south and east both to instruct the Saints and gather means to assist in the western movement; that Orson Pratt should go to England to preside over the missions in the British Isles; that Wilford Woodruff should be sent to take charge of the work in Canada and Nova Scotia. Thus an impetus was given to the missionary work of the church; and the saints scattered abroad would be made acquainted with the movements of the Church leaders in selecting and founding a

4. Colonel Kane was still active in the interest of his Mormon friends. The *Millennial Star* of the 15th April, 1848, gives an account of a meeting held in New York, for the purpose of listening to an appeal on behalf of the distressed Mormons, now scattered in the far West. The account of the meeting is interesting from the prominence of the men participating in it; a number of them became national characters:

The Hon. William V. Brady, mayor of the city, presided; assisted by the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, and Rev. Dr. Whitehouse, Vice-Presidents, and Rev. Rufus Griswold, Secretary. Mayor Brady, in taking the chair, made a few remarks in explanation of the object of it, (i. e. the meeting) and introduced Col. Thomas L. Kane, of Philadelphia, who stated that on his return, recently, from the Far West, he had been brought in contact with the Mormons, scattered over that country, and during an intimate intercourse with them, had opportunities of observing their distresses, and of ascertaining their character. They were a simple, kind-hearted and well meaning people, and were borne down by afflictions and privations; for a more explicit explanation of which he referred to two Mormons then present, Messrs. Ezra T. Benson and Jesse C. Little, who had shared in the general suffering, and to the accuracy of whose statements he was willing to pledge his own word and responsibility. He had everywhere found the Mormons pining from want and disease; and their sufferings were of a nature to justify the strongest appeal to the philanthropic.

The Honorable Benjamin F. Buttler in furtherance of the object of the meeting offered a series of resolutions, the concluding one

Resolved, That upon statements made by Col. T. L. Kane, of Philadelphia, we commend to the favorable consideration of our fellow citizens, the application about to be made to them by Messrs. Benson, Appleby, Little and Snow, the committee now in this city, for donations to relieve emigrant Mormons in their present necessities.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and, after some conversation between gentlemen present, and Col. Kane, the meeting adjourned. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. X, pp. 113-4). The account is quoted from a "New York Paper." It is not of record that the meeting resulted in any material benefit to the Saints.

new gathering place for the Saints, by those who had participated in that work, and therefore were better prepared to impart information, and represent the very spirit in which the work had been accomplished. Orson Hyde, Geo. A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson were appointed to take charge of affairs at Kanesville and vicinity. It was also decided in the early spring of 1848, as a number of the Saints were likely to stay at Kanesville for some time—to publish a paper in the interests of these then frontier settlements. Orson Hyde was sent east to procure a press and type for the proposed publication.

En route from Salt Lake Valley President Young conversed with his brethren of the Apostles on the subject of reorganizing the Presidency of the Church.⁶ He took occasion to bring the subject to the attention of the Twelve when in council meeting at the house of Orson Hyde, at Kanesville, on the 5th of December. There were present at that meeting Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa M. Lyman, Ezra T. Benson. After each of these Elders had spoken his mind with reference to the subject, Orson Hyde moved that President Young be sustained as the President of the Church, and that he nominate his counselors. This was unanimously carried, and President Young named Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as his counselors, and all were unanimously sustained.⁷

5. Hyde accompanied Woodruff who was enroute for Canada as far as St. Louis; where they separated, the former going to Washington. Letter of Woodruff to Orson Spencer, England, *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 316.

6. His conversation with Elder Woodruff on the subject is thus related by the latter in his *Journal*: "Oct. 12, (1847) I had a question put to me by President Young, what my opinion was concerning one of the Twelve Apostles being appointed as the President of the Church with his two counsellors. I answered that a quorum like the Twelve who had been appointed by revelation, confirmed by revelation from time to time, I thought it would require a revelation to change the order of that quorum. [But] *Whatever the Lord inspires you to do in this matter, I am with you*," Woodruff's *Journal*, entry for 12th of October, 1847.

7. "Many interesting remarks were made by the various individuals who spoke," [this included all the members of the Twelve present], writes Wilford Woodruff, "and we were followed by President Young. After which Orson Hyde moved that Brigham Young be the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and that he nominate his two counsellors, and they three form the first Presidency. Seconded by W. Woodruff and carried unanimously. President Young nominated Heber C. Kimball as his first counsellor; seconded and carried unanimously. President Young nominated Willard Richards as his second counsellor; seconded and carried unanimously." (Woodruff's *Journal*, entry for Dec. 5th, 1847).

Three weeks later this matter was brought before a general conference of the church at Kanesville, where, in the interim, the brethren had erected a "Log Tabernacle" especially for the occasion, capable of accommodating from 800 to 1,000 people. It was 65x40 feet in side dimensions, with a recess for a stand for the priesthood and a clerk's desk, 20x10. Some 200 workmen were engaged in its construction.⁸

The conference lasted from the 24th of December to the 27th inclusive. It was on the last day of the conference that the action of the Twelve in naming the First Presidency was ratified by unanimous vote of the conference; and at the same time "Father" John Smith, uncle of the Prophet Joseph, being the brother of the first presiding Patriarch, was unanimously chosen to be the presiding Patriarch of the Church.

"The spirit of the Lord at this time," said Brigham Young a month later, "rested upon the people in a powerful manner, in so much that the Saints' hearts were filled with joy unspeakable; every power of the mind and nerve of their body was awakened." "A dead stillness reigned in the congregation while the president spoke." He said:

"This is one of the happiest days of my life; it's according as Heber prophesied yesterday, our teachings to-day have been good. I never heard better. Is not the bliss of heaven and the breezes of Zion wafted here? Who feels hatred, malice or evil? If you come to the door with a bad spirit, it would not come in with you; no, it could not mingle here: but when you enter, your feelings become as calm and gentle as the zephyrs of paradise; and I feel glory, Hallelujah! Nothing more has been done to-day than what I knew would be done when Joseph died. We have been driven from Nauvoo here, but the hand of the Lord is in it,—visible as the sun shining this morning; it is visible to my natural eyes; it's all right: and I expect when we see the result of all we pass through in this probationary state, we will discover the hand of the Lord in it all, and shout Amen—it's alright! We shall make the upper courts ring; we have some-

8. An attempt was made to hold this conference on the 4th of Dec. in a large double block-house occupied by one of the brethren, but the Saints congregated in such large numbers, crowded the house and so shouted at the windows for admission that the conference was adjourned for three weeks in order to give opportunity for the above mentioned "Log Tabernacle" to be constructed. (See Letter of Brigham Young to Orson Spencer, *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 114). Brigham Young gives the dimensions as 60x40. I follow Woodruff's Journal in the text.

thing to do before then. I don't calculate to go beyond the bounds of time and space where we will have no opposition,—no devils to contend with; and I have no fault to find with the providences of the Lord, nor much fault to find with the people; and if the devils keep out of my path I will not quarrel with them. As the Lord's will is my will all the time, as he dictates so I will perform. If he don't guide the ship, we'll go down in the whirlpool."⁹

This speech was followed by music from the band, and the shout of "Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna to God and the Lamb. Amen! and Amen!" The shout was led by George A. Smith, in which the Saints joined most heartily.¹⁰

Thus the breach in the Church organization occasioned by the martyrdom of President Joseph Smith and Patriarch Hyrum Smith, and the apostasy of the two counselors of President Smith—William Law and Sidney Rigdon,—was healed, and the organization thus completed was prepared to resume all its functions by its regularly appointed officers as ordained in the wisdom and in the very councils of God.

The action of this conference held December 24th-27th, was confirmed by action of the annual conference of the Church held at Kanesville on the 6th of April, 1848.¹¹

Subsequently this action of the Saints in the settlements on the Missouri River, in conference assembled—being the largest number of Saints in one body, with several High Councils presiding in various divisions of the Church in those settlements¹²—was ratified by unanimous vote of the Saints in the Salt Lake Valley, in the conference of the Church held in that place on the

9. Brigham Young in Letter to Orson Spencer, England: *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 115.

10. This shout of "Hosanna" is given only on very great occasions. It is usually given three times in immediate succession; and when voiced by thousands and sometimes tens of thousands in unison, and at their utmost strength, it is most impressive and inspiring. It is impossible to stand unmoved on such an occasion. It seems to fill prairie or woodland, mountain wilderness or Tabernacle with mighty waves of sound; and the shout of men going into battle cannot be more stirring. It gives wonderful vent to religious emotions, and is followed by a feeling of reverential awe—a sense of oneness with God.

11. General Epistle of the First Presidency, etc., *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 227.

12. For the names of these subdivisions to which were given high councils, see this History, Ch. LXVIII. It should be remembered that in Winter Quarters alone there were 22 organized wards, whose bishoprics acted upon this matter of reorganizing the Presidency. Ibid, note 6.

8th of October, 1848, there being about five thousand people in the valley by that time¹³

The action was also ratified by the Saints of the British Isle in General Conference assembled at Manchester, England, August 14th, 1848, at which there were present delegates from twenty-eight conferences, with a mebership of 17,902. Of officers present there was one of the Twelve Apostles (Orson Pratt); 15 High Priests; 7 Seventies; 75 Elders; 27 Priests; 6 Teachers; and 6 Deacons.¹⁴

From this it will be seen that the action of the conference at Kanesville in reorganizing the First Presidency was as promptly as possible presented to all the large groups of the Latter-day Saints assembled in conferences; and in every case it was ratified with unanimous approval. From that day forward to the day of his death, Brigham Young was sustained as the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; also as the Prophet Seer and Revelator of God to said Church, in all its general conferences of the Church, as also by all the stake and mission conferences, and that with unanimity and good will.

Returning now to other events at Kanesville and Winter Quarters following the return of the Pioneers to those places, there remains to be considered a notable "General Epistle" issued under date of December 23rd, 1847, four days before the organization of the First Presidency. It was sent to "*The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints abroad, dispersed throughout the Earth, Greeting.*"

Besides a synoptical recital of the historical events occuring

13. The action is thus stated in a signed communication of Brigham Young to Orson Hyde, Geo. A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson, under date of October 9th, 1848. "On Sunday, the 8th, conference convened at 11 a. m., was opened by singing and prayer by Elder Taylor. After the Choir had sung another hymn, President Young resumed the business of the conference by introducing the order of the day; when Elder Parley P. Pratt nominated President Brigham Young as the First President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, seconded by Elder Heber C. Kimball and carried without a dissenting voice.

"Elder Pratt then nominated Heber C. Kimball to be President Young's first counsellor, seconded and carried unanimously. Elder Pratt nominated Willard Richards as his second counsellor, seconded and carried unanimously. Elder Pratt then nominated John Smith to be Patriarch over the whole Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, seconded and carried unanimously. (*The Frontier Guardian*, Kanesville, Iowa, Feb. 7, 1849).

14. *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 252; where the names of the officers are given; also the names of the conferences, and the statistics in detail.

in the Church since the departure of the Twelve from Nauvoo in the Winter of 1846, and announcing the intention of reorganizing the First Presidency, the Epistle deals with the conditions prevailing in the Church at the time the epistle was published, the policy then it was the intention to pursue and the counsel the Apostles would have the Church follow. It is these parts of the communication which make the epistle both notable and valuable as an historical document. Excerpts will demonstrate its importance, and reflect the spirit of the Great Latter-day work:

Faith of the Saints in the Government of the United States; their loyalty:

“The Saints in this vicinity are bearing their privations in meekness and patience, and making all their exertions tend to their removal westward. Their hearts and all their labours are towards the setting sun, for they desire to be so far removed from those who have been their oppressors, that there shall be an everlasting barrier between them and future persecution; and although, as a people, we have been driven from state to state, and although Joseph and Hyrum, our Prophet and Patriarch, were murdered in cold blood, while in government duress, and under the immediate control, inspection and supervision of the governor and government officers—we know, and feel assured, that there are many honest, noble, and patriotic souls now living under that government, and under similar governments in the sister states of the great confederacy, who would loathe the shedding of innocent blood, and were it in their power, would wipe the stain from the nation. If such would clear their garments in the public eye, and before God, they must speak out; they must proclaim to the world their innocence, and their hatred and detestation of such atrocious and unheard of acts; but with this we have nothing to do; only we love honesty and right wherever we find them; the cause is between them, their country, and their God; and we again reiterate what we have often said, and what we have ever shown by our conduct, that notwithstanding all our privations and sufferings, we are more ready than any other portion of the community to sustain the constitutional institutions of our mother country, and will do the utmost for them, if permitted; and we say to all Saints throughout the earth, be submissive to the law that protects you in your person, rights, and property, in whatever nation or kingdom you are; and suffer wrong, rather than do wrong. This

we have ever done, and mean still to continue to do. *We anticipate, as soon as circumstances will permit, to petition for a territorial government in the Great Basin.*

Replying to the question "what shall we do?" the epistle advised the Saints who had been driven from Nauvoo, and all in the United States and Canada to gather to the east bank of the Missouri to the lands recently vacated by the Pottawattamie Indians, and then owned by the United States; where, by industry, they could soon gather sufficient means to prosecute their journey; for it was only intended that Kanesville and vicinity should be a recruiting point on the westward march of the Saints.

The Saints in the British Isles were advised to immigrate as speedily as possible to these same lands, coming *via* of New Orleans to Kanesville, which would be an all water journey. All were urged to come immediately and to bring with them—

"All kinds of choice seeds, of grain, vegetables, fruits, shrubbery, trees, and vines—everything that grows upon the face of the whole earth that will please the eye, gladden the heart, or cheer the soul of man; also, the best stock of beasts, bird, and fowl of every kind; also, the best tools of every description, and machinery for spinning, or weaving, and dressing cotton, wool, flax, and silk, etc., or models and descriptions of the same, by which they can construct them; and the same in relation to all kinds of farming utensils and husbandry, such as corn shellers, grain threshers and cleaners, smutt machines, mills, and every implement and article within their knowledge that shall tend to promote the comfort, health, happiness, or prosperity of any people. So far as it can be consistently done, bring models and drafts, and let the machinery be built where it is used, which will save great expense in transportation, particularly in heavy machinery, and tools and implements generally."

As the migrating Saints were to pass through a land infested by savage tribes of Indians they were admonished to bring with them good firearms and an abundance of ammunition. The Saints in Western California were given the liberty of remaining in that land if they so elected. The Saints on the Society and other Islands of the Pacific Ocean were at liberty to remain there "until further notice;" but the promise is made that more

Elders would be sent to them as soon as that was practicable.¹⁵ But if a few of their young, or middle aged, intelligent men "wish to visit us at the Basin," said the Epistle, "we bid them God-speed, and shall be happy to see them."

"The Saints in Australia,¹⁶ China and the East Indies generally, will do well to ship to the most convenient part in the United States, and from thence make to this point (i. e. Kanesville), and pursue the same course as others do; or, if they find it more convenient, they may ship to western California."

The traveling ministry everywhere were admonished to preach the gospel and administer its ordinances in simplicity. "Teach them the principles of righteousness and uprightness between man and man; administer to them bread and wine, in remembrance of the death of Jesus Christ, and if they want further information tell them to flee to Zion—there the servants of God will be ready to wait upon them, and teach them all things that pertain to salvation. . . . Should any ask, "*where is Zion?*" tell them in America; and if any ask: *What is Zion?* tell them the pure in heart.¹⁷

Respecting dissenters the Epistle said:

"Since the murder of President Joseph Smith, many false prophets and false teachers have arisen, and tried to deceive many, during which time we have mostly tarried with the body of the Church, or have been seeking a new location, leaving those 'prophets' and 'teachers' to run their race undisturbed: . . . and we now, having it in contemplation soon to reorganize the Church according to the original pattern, with a First Presidency and Patriarch, feel that it will be the privilege of the Twelve, ere long, to spread abroad among the nations, not to

15. The missions on these Islands were established, it will be remembered, as early as 1844, by Elders Addison Pratt, Noah Rogers and Benjamin Grouard. By 1848 the membership of the Church on those islands numbered upward of 1,800 souls (See Report of Church Historian Orson Pratt in *Utah Pioneers*, p. 26, and *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 229).

16. The work was opened in Australia in 1840, by Elder William Barrat; and in the East Indies by Elder William Donaldson, in 1840. (Historian's Report of Missions, *Utah Pioneers*, p. 26). The "Saints in China," must have referred to English sea-faring, or English resident members of the Church in that land, as no mission had then been opened in China.

17. This word "Zion" it will be observed like the word "Heaven," is used variously, as the name of a city, or of a land, or of a condition of mind; "Let Zion rejoice for this is Zion the pure in heart!" Doc. and Cov., Sec. 97. Just as "Heaven" refers, accordingly as it is used, to either a place or state of being, or of mind.

hinder the gathering, but to preach the gospel, and push the people, the honest in heart, together from the four quarters of the earth."

The Rich to help the Poor:

"It is the duty of the rich saints everywhere, to assist the poor, according to their ability, to gather; and if choose, with a covenant and promise that the poor thus helped, shall repay as soon as they are able. It is also the duty of the rich, those who have the intelligence and the means, to come home forthwith, and establish factories, and all kinds of machinery, that will tend to give employment to the poor, and produce those articles which are necessary for the comfort, convenience, health and happiness of the people; and no one need to be at a loss concerning his duty in these matters, if he will walk so humbly before God as to keep the small still whisperings of the Holy Ghost within continually!"

Duty of Parents to Children:

"It is the duty of all parents to train up their children in the way they should go, instructing them in every correct principle, so fast as they are capable of receiving, and setting an example worthy of imitation; for the Lord holds parents responsible for the conduct of their children, until they arrive at the years of accountability before him; and the parents will have to answer for all misdemeanors arising through their neglect. Mothers should teach their little ones to pray as soon as they are able to talk. Presiding Elders should be particular to instruct parents concerning their duty, and Teachers and Deacons should see that they do it."

Education:

"It is very desirable that all the Saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every valuable treatise on education—every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and also every historical, mathematical, philosophical, geographical, geological, astronomical, scientific, practical, and all other variety of useful and interesting writings, maps, etc., to present to the General Church Recorder, when they shall arrive at their destination, from which important and interesting matter may be

gleaned to compile the most valuable works on every science and subject, for the benefit of the rising generations."¹⁸

Museum projected:

We have a printing press, and any who can take good printing or writing paper to the valley will be blessing themselves and the Church. We also want all kinds of mathematical and philosophical instruments, together with all rare specimens of natural curiosities and works of art that can be gathered and brought to the valley, where, and from which, the rising generations can receive instruction; and if the Saints will be diligent in these matters, we will soon have the best, the most useful and attractive museum on the earth.¹⁹

The Temple:

All Saints who loved God more than themselves—"and none else are saints"—were urged to gather together and build the house of the Lord—an holy Temple; for the time had come for the saints to establish the Lord's house in the tops of the mountains, for his name and glory and excellence shall be there. Kings, Presidents, Emperors, Rulers of all nations and tongues and people were invited to participate in this work:

"Help us to build a House to the name of the God of Jacob," said the Epistle to Rulers and their people, "a place of peace, a city of rest, a habitation for the oppressed of every clime, even for those that love their neighbor as they do themselves, and who are willing to do as they would be done unto."

18. These suggestions were followed by the migrating Saints, with the result that from the books, charts, maps, etc., hauled across the plains and over the mountains by ox wagons within the two years following, a free public library was opened in Salt Lake City as early as 1850; and early in the same year, 1850 (Feb. 28th) ?, the "University of Deseret," the precursor of "Utah University," was founded. And the Presidency in a General Epistle to the Church in the spring of 1849 said: "There have been a large number of schools the past winter in which Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Tahitian, and English languages have been taught successfully." (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 230).

19. From this projected beginning arose the Deseret Museum of to-day. It possesses the most varied and greatest collection of curiosities, historic relics, and rare mineral specimens of the intermountain states. "The section devoted to the cliff-dwellers contains numerous human bodies in their sepulchral wrappings of fur and feather cloth, with weapons, ornaments, tools, clothing, utensils, and other personal possessions buried with the dead; and is conceded to be one of the most remarkable collections in the United States. * * *

The Deseret Museum is not wholly a local institution. Its ethnological section contains material illustrative of the life of the American Indians, the Hawaiians, the Samoans, the Maoris and others. The natural history section has specimens from North America, Europe, Asia, India, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the Antarctic, while the sections devoted to Mineralogy and Paleontology have a practically world-wide scope." (*Utah, Its People, Resources, etc.*, 1912, p. 43).

Conclusion—At Peace—The Nature of the Kingdom—Pre-eminence—Motto:

“We are at peace with all nations, with all kingdoms, with all powers, with all governments, with all authorities under the whole heavens, except the kingdom and power of darkness, which are from beneath; and [we] are ready to stretch forth our arms to the four quarters of the globe, extending salvation to every honest soul: for our mission in the gospel of Jesus Christ is from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth; and the blessing of the Lord is upon us; and when every other arm shall fail, the power of the Almighty will be manifest in our behalf; for we ask nothing but what is right, we want nothing but what is right, and God has said that our strength shall be equal to our day. . . .

“The kingdom which we are establishing is not of this world, but is the kingdom of the Great God. It is the fruit of righteousness, of peace, of salvation to every soul that will receive it, from Adam down to his latest posterity. Our good will is towards all men, and we desire their salvation in time and eternity; and we will do them good so far as God will give us power, and men will permit us the privilege; and we will harm no man; but if men will rise up against the power of the Almighty to overthrow his cause, let them know assuredly that they are running on the bosses of Jehovah’s buckler, and, as God lives, they will be overthrown. . . . The Kingdom of God consists in correct principles.

“We ask no pre-eminence; we want no pre-eminence; but where God has placed us, there we will stand; and that is, to be one with our brethren, and our brethren are those that keep the commandments of God, that do the will of our Father who is in heaven; and by them we will stand, and with them we will dwell in time and in eternity.

“Come, then, ye Saints of Latter-day, and all ye great and small, wise and foolish, rich and poor, noble and ignoble, exalted and persecuted, rulers and ruled of the earth, who love virtue and hate vice, and help us to do this work, which the Lord hath required at our hands; and inasmuch as the glory of the latter house shall excell that of the former, your reward shall be an hundred fold, and your rest shall be glorious.

“Our universal motto is, *“Peace with God, and good will to all men.”*²⁰

20. “Written at Winter Quarters, Omaha Nation, West Bank of Missouri River near Council Bluffs, North America, and signed Dec. 23d, in behalf of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Brigham Young, President, Willard Richards, Clerk.” The Epistle is published in *Extenso Mill. Star*, Vol. X, pp. 81-88.

This general Epistle may be open to criticism on the ground to kings, governors, judges and the like for help in the work of a turgid style; and a certain strain of pomposity in its appeal which the Church has in hand; but for comprehensiveness of subject matter; for expression of high purposes; for its wise and practical suggestions to a people situated as the Latter-day Saints were; for its uncompromising stand for righteousness; for its spirit of fair dealing with those not of the faith of the Saints; for its general breadth of view and magnanimity; for its respect and proposed adherence to the general principles of civil government in all lands, and especially for its avowed confidence in, and loyalty to American institutions and constitutions—for all these things the Epistle is worthy of all admiration and all praise.

There were about 1,500 Saints located on the Pottawattamie lands at this time. "Their settlements extended some fifty or sixty miles along the east bank of the Missouri river, reaching back to the east side of said river some thirty or forty miles."²¹ The soil of this tract of land was fertile; and the face of the country though hilly was not mountainous, and it was far healthier than the level plains of Illinois. The tract had not yet come into market and such rights as the Saints held upon it were known as "squatters' rights;" but these gave them the right of occupancy and the privilege of improving and cultivating the lands pending their coming into market. Their "Squatter's Claims," gave them the first right of purchase at the government price (\$1.25 per acre) when thrown upon the market, and if others purchased the land the squatter's improvements must be paid for at a fair valuation.

It will be seen then that the occupancy of these lands had be-

21. Such the statement of Orson Pratt. In the same document quoted above he also remarks: "A great, extensive, and rich tract of country has also been, by the providence of God, put in the possession of the Saints in the Western borders of Iowa. This country is also at some distance from all other settlements, there being none on the west, north or east; and on the south it is some forty or fifty miles to the thinly scattered settlements of Missouri. This country is called the "Pottawattomie country;" it was inhabited by a tribe of Indians by that name, until last season, when they were removed by the United States government, leaving the Saints as the sole occupiers of the soil. This land is not yet in market. When it comes into market, the Saints, being the first settlers will, by law, have certain pre-emption rights, and the first chance of purchasing the land at about 5s.—\$1.25—per acre." *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 242.

come a valuable asset to the Latter-day Saints; and that in consequence of their numbers, and the fact that they, for the most part, were American citizens, with all the rights and privileges of citizenship intact, including the elective franchise, they loomed large upon the political horizon of the state of Iowa. The Iowa Legislature of 1847 provided for the organization of counties out of the Pottawattamie lands, under the supervision of the Judge of the 4th judicial district of Iowa, whenever said judge "should decree that the public good requires such organization."²² As the Saints occupying these lands were anxious to acquire and to be able to dispose of pre-emption claims and improvements, they called meetings early in January and petitioned both for a post office at Kanessville and also a county government. Andrew H. Perkins and Henry W. Miller were sent to Iowa City, then the seat of government for the state, with these petitions. They learned that Judge Carolton of the 4th judicial district had already appointed a Mr. Townsend to organize Pottawattamie county, as already provided by the previous legislature. The post office at Kanessville was established in March, Evan M. Green, a member of the Church, being made postmaster. A county organization was affected about the same time.²³

The Mormon delegation was graciously received by state officials; they were introduced to the secretary of state who expressed a great desire that the saints should stay in Iowa and improve the country. "Iowa politicians" comments President Young on the return of these delegates, "were very anxious to have a state road laid off, bridges built and a post route established for the convenience of the inhabitants of the Council Bluffs country. The Whig and Democratic parties were nearly equally balanced in the state, and both appeared very solicitous for the welfare of our people; they wanted us to vote at the next

22. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, p. 11.

23. The county was called Pottowattamie. The officers were: Isaac Clark, judge of probate; George Coulson, Andrew H. Perkins and David Yeardsley, county commissioners; Thomas Burdick, county clerk; John D. Parker, sheriff; James Sloan, district clerk; Evan M. Green, recorder and treasurer; Jacob G. Bigler, William Snow, Levi Bracken and Jonathan C. Wright, magistrates (Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, pp. 18-25. Also "History of the Church"-*Cannon-Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 5). Cannon's History throughout this period is but a reproduction of President Young's Ms. History very slightly changed, Ms. being written in the first person Cannon changes it to the third.

August election.”²⁴ That was a presidential as well as a state election.

Soon after the visit of the delegation from Kanesville to Iowa City, two delegates, Sidney Roberts and Winsor P. Lyon, were selected by the Whig Central committee of Iowa to go to Kanesville and hold a caucus with the people and present to them an address drawn up by the Central Committee making an appeal to them to unite politically with the Whig party of the state. Lyon, on account of sickness, could not appear in person at the caucus, but he sent a very earnest letter seconding the appeal made to the Saints in the Central Committee’s address. Sidney Roberts at the caucus presented both his own and Mr. Lyon’s credentials, and also the address. Needless to say it was full of fair promises. It reviewed at length the persecutions heaped upon the Saints in Missouri, the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Illinois and the cruel expulsion of the Saints from that state. “The address also dwelt feeling,” says Brigham Young, upon the deception and treachery of the Democrats for asking favors so often from, and as often heaping neglect, abuse, and persecution upon the Saints, depriving them from time to time of civil and religious liberty and the inalienable rights of freemen. “And hearing,” to come to the language of the document itself, “that the greedy cormorants of Locofocoism [a name at times applied in disparagement of the Democrats by their opponents] were at their heels,” and had “commenced a systematical plan to inveigle them in the meshes of their crafty net,” the Whig Central Committee had delegated Messrs. Roberts and Lyon to visit them and lay before them the national polity of the Whigs and solicit their political co-operation; assuring them that their party was “pledged to them and the country to a firm and unyielding protection to Jew, Gentile and Christian of every name and denomination, with all other immunities rightfully belonging to every citizen of the land.”²⁵

Mr. Lyon went even beyond this in his letter, and suggested that in carrying out the great emigration scheme which would

24. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 11.

25. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, pp. 18-25. Also Hist. Ch., Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVIII, p. 361.

remove the Latter-day Saints and secure them in peaceful possession of some remote part of the country, "where you can worship according to your own creed, where you may grow in the arts and sciences," etc., etc., would be through the aid, of the general government, best secured, as Mr. Lyon conceived the matter, by that government purchasing a tract of country commensurate with their present and prospective wants.²⁶ "That General Taylor [the Whig candidate] will be the next president," he went on to say, "there is scarcely any remaining doubt—that by casting your influence in favor of the old hero, would be gratefully remembered by him, cannot be questioned, and by securing Whig Senators and representatives to Congress from this state through your influence, your claims for consideration would be placed in the most favorable light, and which could not fail to secure to you those advantages, privileges and immunities to which your enterprising spirit would so justly entitle you."²⁷

In reply to all this, a statement was drafted and adopted, which set forth at great length the persecutions and proscriptions endured by the Saints, and ended with a resolution declaring that if the "Whigs of Iowa would lift up their hands towards heaven and swear by the Eternal Gods that they would use all their powers to suppress mobocracy, insurrection, rebellion and violence, in whatever form or from whatever source such might arise against the Latter-day Saints and the citizens of Iowa, even to the sacrifice of all their property, and their lives if need be, and that a full share of representative and judicial authority should be extended to the Saints, then the Saints would pledge themselves to unite their votes with the Whigs

26. Following is his deliverance upon that head: "To avoid these difficulties (i. e. probable conflicts with the Indians) and for the better security of your valuable enterprise, the first step preliminary to a general movement westward, to any given point upon a large scale, should be to secure the protection of the general government; and the most efficient way of doing this would be for the United States to purchase a tract of country of sufficient extent to accommodate a population commensurate with your present and prospective wants, and which would enable you, with confidence to concentrate your people once more, and to reorganize them into the social compact, under a guarantee of protection from the savage scalping-knife. This will follow as a natural consequence, growing out of the purchase."

27. Hist. Ch., Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVIII, p. 373; also Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 18.25.

of Iowa at the elections of the current year and would correspond with the Whigs as solicited."²⁸

The agreement was carried into effect and the Saints very generally voted for the Whig ticket, state and national. Orson Hyde also established the *Frontier Guardian*,²⁹ which, though its first number was too belated to give any service in the political campaign of 1848;³⁰ and while it disclaimed in its *Prospectus* any intention to "enter the field of political strife," beyond reserving "the right and privilege of recommending such men to the suffrage of the people as the Editor may think will prove true and faithful guardians of the national peace and honor, and of the persons and property of its citizens"³¹—yet during the three years of its continuance under Elder Hyde's editorship, it was a steadfast adherent of Whig policies.

The course followed imbittered the Democratic party of Iowa against the Saints. Nationally the Whigs were successful, but in Iowa the Democrats carried the state by about 1,500 majority;³² and at the assembling of the legislature they introduced a bill for the disorganization of Pottawattamie county. It passed the lower house but failed of passage in the senate.³³ The justification offered for this attempt at the destruction of a county in order to deprive its people of political and civil rights was a charge of a "corruption" against the voters of that county, in that they were bribed by the Whigs to support that party's can-

28. Hist. of Brigham Young as in note 22; Cannon's Hist. of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 5.

29. The *Frontier Guardian* was a four paged super-royal sheet, issued semi-monthly, edited for three years and one month by Orson Hyde. It was then sold to Jacob Dawson, a non-Mormon, and issued as a weekly under the combined title of "The *Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel*," March 4th, 1842.

30. The first number was published Feb. 7th, 1849.

31. See *Prospectus*, first issue of *Guardian*.

32. See *Frontier Guardian*, issue of April 4th, 1849, Springer's Speech.

33. "The Legislature has adjourned," said the *Guardian* of April 4th, 1849, and up to the last hour the Democracy strove to pass the Pottowattamie Bill (the bill to disorganize the county was so called). But a motion to suspend a rule required three-fourths of the members present and the Senate stood ten Democrats to four Whigs, good and true—Springer, Cook, Wright and Sproot."

"Our readers may forget as soon as they can, the injustice which the Democrats sought to do us. Indeed the sooner the better; but never forget that four Whig members of the Senate stood by your interests to the very last hour—manfully defended them, and defeated your oppressors."

didates, state and national.³⁴ Also they were declared to be "fanatics and outlaws." Feeling ran very high during the discussion in the legislature; the senator from Davis and Appanoose counties, Mr. Selman, who was also the President of the Senate, declared his willingness "to put himself at the head of a mob and drive them [the Saints] from the state by the hands of violence."³⁵ In appointing the 27th day of April as a day of fasting and prayer, among the several persons to be prayed for was this same Dr. Selman, President of the Iowa Senate. "Ask the Lord," said the communication of Elders Hyde, Smith and Benson—constituting the presidency at Kanesville,—“Ask the Lord to make him ashamed of his hard speeches made against a people that never injured him, neither wish to.”³⁶

The controversy created dissention also among the Saints. Elder Almon W. Babbitt's resentment against the course pursued by Elders Hyde *et al*, was such that he was disfellowshipped by a conference of Seventies with which body of priesthood in the Church he was connected.³⁷ Elder Hyde referred his course to the Presidency at Salt Lake for vindication, but the only reply he received on that head was:

“In regard to politics and political papers we care little about them, and you are at liberty to do as you please concerning these matters while you tarry.”³⁸

The fact was that Kanesville, notwithstanding the valuable claims held by the Saints in the Pottawattamie lands, the natural richness of the soil, and the importance of the place as a starting point for the emigration to the West, was looked upon by the authorities in Salt Lake valley merely as a temporary place of habitation for their people, and they evidently did not regard

34. See Springer's Speech against the disorganization of Pottawattamie County, *Guardian* of Apl. 4th, 1849; also letters of Orson Hyde of 19th and 21st of September, 1848, to the *Missouri Republican* (reproduced in the *Guardian* of May 2d, 1849); also letter of Almon W. Babbitt to the *Iowa Statesman*, of October 23, 1848, (reproduced in the *Guardian* of Feb. 21, 1849, with Introductory comments by Orson Hyde).

35. Speech of Mr. Springer, *Burlington Hawk Eye*, March, 1849, copied into the *Frontier Guardian* of April 4th, 1849. See also editorials same issue of *Guardian*.

36. The communication *in extenso* will be found in the *Guardian* Feb. 21, 1849. Editorial and Babbitt's letter of April 4, 1849.

37. *Frontier Guardian*, Feb. 21, 1849. Editorial and Babbitt's letter.

38. *Guardian*, May 30th, 1849. Hyde and Babbitt were finally reconciled before Church tribunals, and it was so announced in the *Guardian*, issue of Nov. 28, 1849.

these political affairs as very important. It had been demonstrated over and over again that peaceful relationship between the Saints and the people of the western states of the union, was out of the question, of which this political flurry in Iowa was only another but convincing evidence, and therefore the Saints in that place were urged from time to time to remove to the mountains. In September, 1851, a particularly insistent letter was addressed to them at Kanesville, announcing the appointment of Ezra T. Benson and Jedediah M. Grant to assist them to remove to Salt Lake Valley the following season—1852. “We desire you to give heed to their counsel in all things, and come to this place with them next season, *and fail not*. . . . What are you waiting for? Have you any good excuse for not coming? No! . . . “*Arise and come home*. . . . We wish you to evacuate Pottawattamie, and the states, and next fall be with us.”³⁹ On the strength of this letter to the Saints in Pottawattamie, and a General Epistle in the same spirit to all the Church on the gathering, issued a day later, the Saints in the British Mission were counselled not to emigrate, “except such as have money and faith sufficient to take them through to the valley (i. e. Salt Lake)the same season.”⁴⁰ That is, there was to be no more stopping over on the Pottawattamie lands.

The result of this policy was that Kanesville and the surrounding country was within the next year practically deserted by the Saints. The desirable lands and all the settlements fell into other hands; the *Frontier Guardian* was sold early in the following year—February 1852—to Mr. Jacob Dawson; the name of the principal settlement—Kanesville⁴¹—was soon changed to Council Bluffs, and everything that marked the vicinity as a resting place of the exiled and gathering Saints, was in a few years obliterated.

The affairs of the Church in the British Isles during these unsettled years of 1846-1848, had been very prosperous. Orson

39. *Frontier Guardian*, Nov. 14, 1851.

40. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, p. 27.

41. Kanesville was originally known as “Millers Hollow” (Hist. B. Young Ms., Bk. 3, p. 3) “a small valley” down which flowed Indian Creek; and it was at the mouth of this “valley” or Hollow that Kanesville—now Council Bluffs—arose (See Liverpool Route, pp. 78, 79).

Spencer, a most worthy man and able minister of the Gospel had been in charge; and when Orson Pratt arrived in England to succeed him in the presidency, he found the affairs of the mission in a flourishing, healthful condition.⁴² At a general conference of Elder Pratt, twenty-eight conferences were represented, reporting a membership of 17,902, of which number 8,467 had been added between the date of May 31st, 1846, and the 14th of August, 1848.⁴³ But what was far better than any increase in number of the mission held at Manchester soon after the arrival of the Saints was never better, kindness and good will were apparent on every hand, the fruit of the spirit was manifest, which "is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance—against such there is no law."⁴⁴

Turning now to the activities of President Young, at Winter Quarters and Kanesville during the Winter of 1847-8, affecting the removal of the large companies of Saints to the Mountains in the summer of 1848, it must be said that his labors to make the necessary preparations were ceaseless; so too the labors of his associates the Apostles who were with him, and likewise many other prominent brethren and the people generally.

As a result of these labors there was rendezvoused at the Elk Horn ferry by the first of June, six hundred and twenty-three wagons, divided into two great encampments under the leadership of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball respec-

42. Of the labors and Presidency of Elder Spencer, Orson Pratt in his General Epistle to the Saints in the British Isles, announcing his own appointment to the Presidency of the Church in those lands, said: "The Saints in this land have been highly favored and extensively benefited by the indefatigable and praise-worthy labors of our much esteemed and dearly beloved brother, Elder Orson Spencer, whose wise and judicious course in his presidential administration over the Saints in this land will ever live in remembrance of all the faithful. His integrity and sterling virtue have erected for him an enduring monument that can never perish. The eloquent and powerful reasonings displayed in all his writings—the bold, energetic, and beautiful style diffused through every part, and the meek and humble spirit which seems to pervade almost every sentence, clearly indicated a sound mind, enlightened by the spirit of truth, and filled with wisdom by the inspiration of the Almighty. The inestimable truths which he has so ably developed in his writings will prove an invaluable treasure to thousands, and live in the memory of all future generations.

43. Detailed report is to be found in *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, pp. 252-3.

44. Gal., v. 22, 23.

tively.⁴⁵ A third encampment formed at the same place in July, under the leadership of Willard Richards, and Amasa M. Lyman, numbering about three hundred wagons, with about the same proportion of animals and people.⁴⁶

The same plan of organization and method of traveling was adopted as in the previous year, the wagons were divided into groups of hundred, fifties, and tens, with captains over each group to safeguard those placed under their jurisdiction. The journey was not materially different from that of the companies of the previous year and of the many companies that followed in succeeding years. All three divisions arrived in Salt Lake Valley in September and October: President Young's division, on the 20th of September; President Kimball's, on the 24th of the same month; and President Richards' began arriving on

45. President Brigham Young's Company.	Wagons.	Souls.	Horses.	Mules.	Oxen.	Cows.	Loose Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.	Chickens.	Cats.	Dogs.	Goats.	Geese.	Bee Hives.	Doves.	Squirrels.	Ducks.
Allen Taylor's, 100	190	597	30	16	615	316	63	134	66	282	19	31	3	8	0	6	0	0
Lorenzo Snow's, 100	99	321	20	3	308	188	38	139	25	158	10	26	0	0	0	2	0	0
Wm. G. Perkins', 100	57	155	14	0	191	99	34	97	28	94	3	12	0	0	2	0	0	0
Zera Pulsipher's, 100	51	156	10	0	161	96	49	41	22	71	5	13	0	2	0	0	0	0
Total.....	397	1229	74	19	1275	699	184	411	141	605	37	82	3	10	2	8	0	0
President Heber C. Kimball also had a company of 226 Wagons, with a similar proportion of animals, after- wards found to number	226	662	57	25	737	284	150	243	96	299	17	52	0	0	3	3	1	5
Total.....	623	1891	131	44	2012	983	334	654	237	904	54	134	3	10	5	11	1	5

President Willard Richards and Amasa Lyman will also lead another large company to the mountains. *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 314.

46. The movements of these great camps of exiles were not attended by lamentations or any other manifestations of sorrow. Quite the contrary. Describing the start made by the first division of President Young's company on the 1st of June, Thomas Bullock, clerk of the Camp of Israel, writes: "On the 1st day of June, Lorenzo Snow's company [one hundred wagons] moved off the ground to the Liberty Pole on the Platte, in order to make room for other wagons that came pouring in from Winter Quarters. If any person inquire 'Is Mormonism down?' he ought to have been in the neighborhood of the Elk Horn this day, and he would have seen such a host of wagons that would have satisfied him in an instant, that it lives and flourishes like a tree by a fountain of waters; he would have seen merry faces, and heard the song of rejoicing, that the day of deliverance had surely come." Letter to Levi Richards, *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 314.

the 11th of October.⁴⁷ The arrival of these companies in the Salt Lake Valley increased the population to about five thousand souls.

It may be of interest to mention the fact that conducting this large immigration of 1848 across the plains was the last time that President Young made that journey. He never returned to the eastern states. Upon leaving Winter Quarters on the 26th of May, he said—and there is a note of farewell and sadness in his words:

“On the 26th I started on my journey to the mountains, leaving my houses, mills and the temporary furniture I had acquired during our sojourn there. This was the fifth time I had left my home and property since I embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ.”⁴⁸

Henceforth the Intermountain West will be the scene of the great Leader's activities.

47. Letter of President Young to Messrs. Hyde, Smith and Benson, *Frontier Guardian*, of Feb. 7th, 1849.

48. Hist. B. Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 36.

Historic Views and Reviews

OLD ABE, THE WAR EAGLE

Old Abe was probably the most famous eagle that ever wore feathers. He was a genuine eagle, and a handsome specimen of his kind. His authentic history apparently begins with the day in 1861, when Chief Sky, a Chippewa Indian, made him prisoner on the Flambeau River in Wisconsin. Sky sold him to a white man for a bushel of corn. The man who paid the corn for him, sold him in turn for \$5 to a Mr. Mills. Mills made a present of him to a company just about to start out for the war, Company C of the Eighth Wisconsin. No time was lost by them in naming this winged inspiration after the man in the White House. Old Abe the bird became, and Old Abe he stayed till his death years after.

They carried him alongside the colors on a perch at the end of a staff. The army soon came to know them as the "Eagle Regiment." Beginning with Farmington, Miss., the eagle and his followers went through thirty-six battles. He was wounded before Corinth, and again at Vicksburg. It is said that at Corinth the Confederate marksmen made special efforts to kill Old Abe, at the direction of General Price. "I would rather have him than a whole brigade," Price is said to have remarked, such was the eagle's value in encouraging the troops.

Old Abe stayed with his command until it was mustered out in 1864. In September, Lewis, the Wisconsin war Governor, formally accepted him on behalf of the State. Old Abe was exhibited at the Chicago Sanitary Fair that winter, and his history, published in a pamphlet, brought \$16,000 for the sick soldiers.

It is pleasant to record that he lived long and happily afterward. He was much in demand at conventions and veterans' reunions. He died in March, 1881, as a result of breathing smoke

at the fire of the Madison capitol. Leonard W. Volk, the sculptor, used him as the model for several eagles on his war monuments.



TO MARK FIRST MASS

The Catholics of New York, on May 2, unveiled a bronze tablet at the Custom House in honor of the first mass ever celebrated on Manhattan Island. The tablet, which was placed at the right of the main entrance to the Custom House, was the gift of the Order of the Alhambra and the ceremonies were conducted by that organization.

This is the inscription:

Within Fort James, located on this site, the sacrifice of the mass was offered in 1683 in the Governor's residence by the Rev. Thomas Harvey, S. J., chaplain to Gov. Thomas Dongan. Erected by the Order of the Alhambra, 1912.

The uniformed members of the order and a number of others marched from the City Hall to the Custom House to take part in the ceremonies. At the head of the procession was the boys' band of the Catholic Protectory, and the way those forty youngsters played kept the marchers in brisk step all the way down Broadway. The band music drew the holiday crowd from Broadway and the side streets and by the time the procession reached Battery Park there were enough people in its wake to fill the area in front of the Custom House full to the park railings.

Edward Feeney of the Order of the Alhambra was in charge of the meeting.



WASHINGTON'S CAMP MARKED

Mrs. Hugh McLaughlin, widow of the Brooklyn Democratic leader, has ordered from a local concern a monument to mark the spot on the road from Hamburg to McAfee where the Continental army under George Washington camped when it passed through Sussex county.

Mrs. McLaughlin was born in Sussex county and is a member of the local organization of the Daughters of the Revolution. Her grandfather accompanied Gen. Washington on his trip through this section. She has written several articles on historical subjects which concern Washington's visit to this section.



WASHINGTON'S INTEREST IN AVIATION

Apparently, George Washington was not only the father of his country, but also something like the godfather of aviation in America. At any rate, he wrote a letter for one Monsieur Blanchard, who made the first balloon ascension in this country at Philadelphia in 1793. The letter reprinted in *St. Nicholas* reads:

“George Washington, President of the United States of America. To All to Whom these Presents shall come.

“The bearer hereof, Mr. Blanchard, a citizen of France, proposing to ascend in a balloon from the city of Philadelphia, at 10 o'clock A. M. this day, to pass in such direction and to descend in such place as circumstances may render most convenient—

“THESE ARE therefore to recommend to all citizens of the United States, and others, that in his passage, descent, return, or journeying elsewhere, they oppose no hindrance or molestation to the said Mr. Blanchard: And that on the contrary, they receive and aid him with that humanity and good will which may render honor to their country, and justice to an individual so distinguished by his efforts to establish and advance an art, in order to make it useful to mankind in general.

“Given under my hand and seal, at the city of Philadelphia, this ninth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, and of the independence of America the seventeenth.

Signed,

[Seal.]

GEORGE WASHINGTON.



WHAT AMERICA COST COLUMBUS

Ledgers recently discovered at Palos, Spain, contain interesting facts concerning the outlay made by Christopher Columbus on his expedition to the New World.

The armament of the little fleet cost 14,000 pesetas. The personal expenses of Columbus and his officers were about 2,000 pesetas, and six pesetas a month sufficed for the crew, so that 22,050 pesetas, or about \$4,400, was spent for the eight months that the voyage lasted. The sum total for the discovery of America, therefore, was 36,000 pesetas, or about \$7,200.

In spite of the small amount required, however, Queen Isabella was forced to pawn her jewels, it is related, to provide funds for the expedition.



U. S. S. SANTEE SOLD

The U. S. S. Santee, one of the oldest vessels in the navy, was sold recently to Joseph G. Hitner, of Philadelphia, for \$3,610.

The Santee was laid down in 1820 and for a generation was one of the famous sailing frigates in the naval service. She was extensively repaired just before the civil war, after which she was assigned for the use of the Naval Academy as a training ship.



SOLDIER'S DIARY BRINGS \$610

The remarkably high price of \$610 was paid recently by George D. Smith, for the unpublished manuscript journal of Brigadier Gen. Enoch Poor, a native of Andover, Mass., who, after distinguished services in the American Revolution, was killed in a duel with a French officer at Hackensack, N. J., Sept. 8, 1780. Mr. Smith, when bidding for this manuscript, was seated beside Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, and it was the general belief that he bought it as her agent. A California collector, whose name was withheld, was the underbidder, stopping at \$600.

This journal was written while Poor was a private soldier in the French and Indian Wars. Notices of him in biographical dictionaries make no mention of his having seen military service in any capacity before the outbreak of the Revolution. The journal consists of ninety-four small pages, sewn together with

Poor's copy of Ames' Almanac for 1759, and inscribed on the first leaf "Enoch Poor, His Book, 1759. A Gornal from Newbury to Saint Jolin's." With the journal was also Poor's Fradrick aft Saint Johns, Sept. 5, 1759. The names of all the men in the Garson."

Inscribed on the back cover is "Enoch Poor, His Book, the year 1759, Fort Fradrick at St. Johns." From this list it appears that he was a private soldier in the company of Capt. Hanway Titcomb, Newbury.

The diary records many details of garrison life. Two of the entries in it read as follows:

June the 15 (1759) Aly (early) in the morning a Bouat 7 a cloack 8 or 9 men went a fishing to the wyar and the Indians and french shot upon them and keld one of the Goners and Sklopt (scalped) him and One of Captain Curches men was Wonded very Bad.

February ye 25 Day (1760) Our Man upon the walls this Day aboute One o Clocke in the Day they saw a Committee (comet) fall which the bigness of it seem to be as big as a washtoub, it fell in the souest.



USE WASHINGTON'S CUPS

Mrs. James Marsland Lawton, of New York city, founder and first president of the National Society of the Daughters of the Cincinnati, gave a dinner recently at Delmonico's for the board of managers of that society. The guests were seated at a horse-shoe table. They drank a toast from silver camp cups that were used by Gen. Washington in the War of the Revolution and which had been lent by W. Lanier Washington, one of the collateral descendants of the first President.

A feature of the dinner was the bringing into the room of an American bald eagle by the Count de La Fayette and Mr. Washington, who placed the bird in front of the diners.

OCTOBER, 1912

AMERICANA

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THOMAS A. EDISON

AMERICANA

October, 1912

Our Unfought War With England

LETTERS ON THE TRENT AFFAIR—PART I

THIS series of letters on the Trent Affair was presented at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, a few months ago. As the letters are still unpublished, except in daily newspaper columns, it seems fitting that they should be preserved in more permanent form.

EVERETT TO ADAMS

BOSTON, 20 August, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had great pleasure in receiving your letter of the 26th July, and in your favorable opinion of my oration, which has also been kindly spoken of here.

You informed me some time ago that Lord John—no longer Lord John [he had been raised to the peerage, as Earl Russell, in July, 1861, the preceding month]—had read you a part of my letter to him of the 29th of May. I have thought you might like to see his answer, of which I accordingly send you a copy. I also venture to place under cover to you my reply to him, unsealed, should you be inclined to read it. You will be pleased before sending it, to seal it with some indifferent seal.

Our newspapers are filled with the absurdest suggestions, about the unfriendly interference of England and France. But I am confident, that before the next crops of cotton and tobacco are ready for shipment, the Southern Ports will be so effectually blockaded, as to put any such interference out of the question. . . .

EDWARD EVERETT.

[Enclosure.]

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO EVERETT

PEMBROKE LODGE, July 12, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. EVERETT,—I have hitherto delayed answering your letter of the 28th of May, in hopes that a better feeling,

and I must say a juster feeling towards us might spring up in the United States. I am not sure that this is the case, but I am told there has been a lull. In the interval before a fresh storm arises, I will write a few lines as to our position.

I shall say little as to yours; I respect the unanimous feeling of the North, and still more the resolution not to permit the extension of Slavery which led to the election of President Lincoln. But with regard to our own course, I must say something more. There were according to your account 8 millions of free-men in the Slave States. Of these millions upwards of five have been for sometime in open revolt against the President and Congress of the United States. It is not our practice to treat five millions of freemen as pirates, and to hang their sailors if they stop our merchantmen. But unless we meant to treat them as pirates and to hang them we could not deny them belligerent rights. This is what you and we did in the case of the South American Colonies of Spain. Your own President and Courts of Law decided this question in the case of Venezuela.

Your press has studiously confused the case by calling the allowance of belligerent rights by the name of recognition. But you must well know the difference.

It seems to me however that you have expected us to discourage the South. How this was to be done, except by waging war against them I am at a loss to imagine.

I must confess likewise that I can see no good likely to arise from the present contest. If on the 4th of March you had allowed the Confederate States to go out from among you, you could have prevented the extension of Slavery and confined it to the slaveholding States. But if I understand your Constitution aright you cannot do more in case of successful war, if you have to adhere to its provisions and to keep faith with those States and parts of States where slavery still exists which have not quitted the Union.

I regret the Morrill Tariff and hope it will be repealed. But the exclusion of our manufactures from your markets was surely an odd way of conciliating our good will.

I thank you for your condolence on the death of my brother.

It is a grievous loss to me, after half a century of brotherly affection, I remain, Yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

EVERETT TO ADAMS

BOSTON, 29 October, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS,—I had much pleasure in receiving yours of the 5th of October by the last steamer. The fair prospect, to which you allude, as produced by the prosperous turn of things here, is a little clouded by the news, which this steamer will carry to you of another reverse to our arms near Leesburg. It seems to have been a sad blundering piece of business. There is a general willingness to lay the blame on poor Colonel Baker. *Les morts, aussi bien que les absens, ont toujours tort.*

The great naval expedition has sailed from Fortress Monroe. Its success, if it fully succeeds, will be all important,—and its failure proportionately disastrous.

Mr. de Stoeckel sat half an hour with me today. He talked in the sense of Prince Gortschakoff's letter; but rather gloomily of our cause. He distrusts the ability of McClellan to handle the large army under his command, and thinks General Scott, tho' his faculties are unimpaired, pretty nearly "used up";—I am sorry to use the cant phrase of the noble old chief. Stoeckel says that France and England have intimated to our Government, that the domestic interests of their subjects absolutely require, that the supply of cotton should not be much longer obstructed, and that if the present state of things continues, they shall be compelled, with great reluctance, to take measures for the relief of their subjects, who, according to Stoeckel, will otherwise starve or rebel; and of course the latter. He says he *knows* these intimations have been made.

I read to Stoeckel a part of your letter,—not of course that which you wrote in confidence. He said, *a propos* of the European Complications, that Prince Gortschakoff wrote him that they were numerous and grave; that Russia could not prevent their existence, but thus far had been able to prevent their leading to war; and that as this season had passed without a

rupture, and Winter was at hand, Peace was sure to be preserved, at least till next year. Baron Brunnow writes to Stoessel, that John Bull affects to weep from sympathy, when brother Jonathan cries with the toothache, but chuckles in his sleeve, as poor Jonathan's teeth, with which he is accustomed to bite so hard, are pulled out by his own doctors. Mr. Seward has requested me to come to Washington to confer on some public business (he does not say what) and I shall start on Wednesday. . . .

EDWARD EVERETT.

EVERETT TO ADAMS

BOSTON, 9 November, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS—I have to thank you for your two very valuable letters of the 5th and 25th of October. I write a little in advance of the sailing of the steamer, as I shall be much engaged next week.

What I said of Mr. Seward's too belligerent propensities was founded a good deal on Mr. Sumner's statements. I made allowance for the evidently unfriendly tone, in which they were made, but I would not have supposed them so exaggerated, as I now incline to think them. They were in part confirmed by a Capt. Taylor, late of the British army, who brought me 2 or 3 years ago a letter from his uncle, the late Archbishop of York, —who told me that Mr. Seward had said to Russell, the correspondent of the "*Times*," that he was willing to go to war with England and France to-morrow, and that on his (Taylor's) repeating this to Lord Lyons, Lord Lyons replied, "I can believe it; he has said much the same to me," adding "he treats me so, I can't go to the department." All this, however, cannot be true, if any of it is. Mr. Seward told me his personal relations with Lord L. were perfectly friendly. I saw a letter of the Duke of Argyll to Mr. Sumner, expressing lively fears that Mr. Seward was driving the country into a war; this was some three months ago; and Dean Milman, in a letter to me of the 16th October, speaks of Mr. Seward's having threatened an invasion of Canada.

Mr. Seward has requested me, as he has Thurlow Weed, Arch-

bishop Hughes, J. P. Kennedy, Bishop McIlvaine, and R. C. Winthrop, to go to England and France, for two or three months unofficially and as volunteers, to endeavor, through social channels, to counteract the influence of the Secessionists, who are said to be swarming at London and Paris and producing an effect on public opinion. I see many objections to going,—the vagueness of the errand, the strangeness of the grouping (which however, is of less consequence, as there is no official character to be kept up and consequently no joint action necessary, nor probably expedient), the wintry voyage, some twenty-five or thirty engagements to speak—and now the attention, which it may be necessary to give to my son's affairs, which may indeed prove to me an insuperable barrier. I will add also, in entire sincerity, that I believe, from all I know and all I hear, not only that the official duties of the American minister are performed by you in a manner which leaves nothing to desire, but that whatever can be effected through social influences is accomplished with equal skill and success, I am not quite sure, that it would be wise, to send out half a dozen *volunteers* when the *regular* service is so efficient.

I wish you would, with entire unreserve, give me your opinion of the matter, by which, if I am able to come (which is quite doubtful), I should be much governed. I learn today from Washington, much to my satisfaction, that Mr. Seward consents to postpone for some time—perhaps indefinitely—further action in this matter.

You will not suppose for a moment that I imagine Mr. Seward to labor under the impression, that your hands need strengthening. But he seems to think something can be done by purely unofficial influences, in social intercourse by private travelers, in which capacity only the persons named are to go abroad.

The whole movement was to be confidential, but it is already in the papers, I know not by what means.

I have written too long a letter already, but having half a page left, I will add, that, while in Washington the other day, I had a long and interesting conversation with M. Mercier, the purport of which was that France suffered so much by the present state of things in this country, that she would be compelled in self-

defence *to take measures of relief*. I asked him what measures, and he answered, "Recognition of the Confederacy." I told him that of itself, though it would give great moral aid to the South, would not help France. He admitted this and said in substance they must break the blockade. I replied, "this would be war with the U. S." He did not deny this, but seemed to think, on the near and certain approach of such a result, we would give way. I told him he could not be in earnest in thinking his Government would go to war with a friendly Power merely to promote domestic interests. He said necessity knew no law. I believe substantially the same language is held by him officially. I think it is intended to frighten us into yielding, and told him so. But that he disclaimed. Stoeckel told me Louis Napoleon was thoroughly frightened, at the fear of a general *émeute*. You will put your own interpretation on all this. *Val-eat quantum*. As ever, sincerely yours, E. E.

P. S. The N. Y. *Herald* says, "Mr. Adams is the right man in the right place." If the *Herald* commends you, you will begin to read the first clause of Luke vi, 26, with some anxiety. ["Woe unto you, when all men speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets."]

WINTHROP TO KENNEDY

BOSTON, 18 November, 1861.

I wrote Seward some days ago that you had encouraged me to think there was less urgency for any of us to go abroad, and that I was indisposed to go for domestic reasons. But who needs to go, after your glorious Maryland Election, and the success of the Port Royal Expedition! And now comes the climax—Mason and Slidell caught and brought back! When I presented you and Mason to the multitude at Bunker Hill, how little he thought the name of Warren would have such associations for him—the Statue and the Fort! [On June 17, 1857, the Bunker Hill Monument Association dedicated the statue to Joseph Warren, and among the speakers on the occasion were John M. Mason and John P. Kennedy.] His tone was insolent enough on

that occasion, yet I will not triumph over him now. To think of Mason, Slidell, and Gwin, and still more of Morehead and Faulkner, and your friends Brown and Wallis, confined in the casements of an Island Fortress, away from home and friends, and subject to the punishment of Traitors, fills me with horror. Yet I know not what else the Government could do with some of them, tho' I am afraid Faulkner and Morehead have been dealt with too summarily. I sent down some Sherry a fortnight ago, and offered to go myself, but the officer said I could speak to none of them; I told him of your interest in your friends. I also helped to get great coats, to prevent the North-Carolina soldiers from freezing. Are we to have war with England? A war of words we certainly shall have. Seward's recent letters and proclamations have greatly irritated the English mind, and I hope he will be prudent in his management of this arrest case. It gives undoubted cause for complaint, and the complaint ought not to be met with defiance. Proper explanations, in a civil way, will save a world of trouble. . . .

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

DANA TO ADAMS

BOSTON, Nov. 25, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS.—Allow me to submit to your consideration a few words from the D[aily] Advertiser which I sent, on the Mason-Slidell question.

I hope you now feel better about the news. Wilkes has done a noble thing, and done it well. It has, with all its elements of poetic justice, struck a chord in the public heart that only a great victory could have struck.

Your speech at the Lord Mayor's dinner has given much satisfaction here as in England. [The speech is printed in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, November 25, 1861. On the 9th the two Confederate Commissioners, William L. Yancey and A. Dudley Mann, had dined with the Fishmongers Company of London. Yancey's speech will be found in the same journal, November 26.] I congratulate you upon it.

Sumner's speech is a magnificent exposition (I mean his late

speech, since October 1) of the sin and horrors of slavery and its ill effect on all our politics, causing and sustaining this rebellion, etc., etc. But so far as a policy, measures,—a principle of action is concerned, it is vague. He seems to assume that if our twenty millions can be made to hate slaveholders and slavery badly enough, and to believe that they can hit 'em ard, all the rest will take care of itself. If the steam is got up to the highest, and the boat headed into them, all else is immaterial. I cannot agree to that. Under the war power we can do what is (1) necessary for the purposes of the war, (2) justified by humanity, good sense, and the consent of Christendom. I know no other limits. But Sumner makes the abolition of slavery by force the moral justification and end of the war. The war is a means. He preaches a holy crusade. But we cannot justify *war on the domestic institutions of the Southern States*, as an end and object. We must not propagate even Christianity by the sword. The war must be to sustain the Constitution, and prevent the establishment of an independent nation in our limits; or, if we admit the Union and Constitution to be at an end as matter of law and of fact, then we can justify it only on the ground of an imperial and paramount necessity to establish one govt. over the old limits, wholly, or so far as we choose, taking the responsibility for the negroes on ourselves. The difficulty with Sumner is this. He has had great difficulty in justifying a support of the Constitution with its slave clauses. He has great difficulty in justifying *war* on any terms. But to justify war, in order to sustain the Constitution that itself needs justification, is too much for him. He relieves his conscience by preaching this to be a holy crusade to abolish slavery.

Pardon my long discourse, and believe me with great respect,
Yours truly,

RICHARD H. DANA, JR.

WINTHROP TO ADAMS

BOSTON, 25 November, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your kind letter of October 10th was duly received. It was all the more welcome because I had not dreamed of putting you to the trouble of acknowledging my brief note of

last summer. And I have delayed thanking you as soon as I should otherwise have done, lest I should seem to be involving you in the trouble of private correspondence, at a moment when more than all your time must be required for public business. Let me beg you, therefore, never to feel under the slightest obligation to reply to any little note of mine, unless there be some service which I can render you here, or until the return of peace shall have released you from the heavy anxieties and responsibilities which are now upon you.

It has occurred to me that you may be glad to be reminded, in connection with the case of Henry Laurens, which is everywhere cited as a precedent for the seizure of Mason and Slidell, that the present Lord Albemarle has, at this moment, at his seat in Norfolk (Quidenham) a portrait of Washington, intended for the Stadtholder, which was taken by Capt. Keppel from the same ship in which Laurens was captured. It is *the* portrait in which Washington is represented with that *blue ribbon* across the breast which has given occasion to so many speculations. When I was in London two years ago, Lord Albemarle invited me to run down to Quidenham to see it, and I presume he does not doubt that it was lawful prize. I think he will be bound to surrender it to the Dutch, however, before going to war with us for seizing the Rebel Ambassadors. At any rate it is a pleasant little incident which may serve to illustrate the English precedents on this subject. The success of our naval expedition, and the evident "turning of the tide" in our favor at home, will do more than anything else in reconciling Great Britain to the course of Capt. Wilkes; and, if McClellan gives us a great victory on the Potomac in a few days, we shall feel safe from any foreign molestation. . . .

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

PALFREY TO ADAMS

BOSTON, 5 Louisburg Square, November 25, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS,—Let me begin with congratulating you on your speech at the Lord Mayor's dinner, which has just reached us. We read that it was received with great satisfaction in England. Here the opinion undoubtedly is that it [is] very

exceedingly opportune and felicitous. Though we know but little as yet of the particulars of your action, it is certain that the utmost confidence prevails that our affairs in England are in prudent and able hands.

Before you receive this, it is likely that you will have been engaged with the affair of the mail-packet *Trent*. The jubilation ever that adventure has been somewhat checked by apprehension of the effect which it may produce in England. But the citations which have been collected from the publicist authorities have, on the whole, dispelled anxiety, and those who are least sanguine as to the good temper of England on the occasion generally think that it forces her into the dilemma of either abstaining from complaint, or of desisting for the future from pretensions on her own part which have often caused us discontent.

Perhaps the most noticeable contribution was the letter of Theophilus Parsons, professor of law in Harvard Law School, printed in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 29, 1861. As a legal question he concluded that "I am just as certain that Wilkes had a legal right to take Mason and Slidell from the *Trent* as I am that our Government has a legal right to blockade the port of Charleston."

The town is wild with enthusiasm today about Wilkes's reception in Faneuil Hall. It has been storming, and I was not well enough for a strife with the weather. So I had to content myself with leaving a card at the Revere House,—he having just gone to the Navy-yard.

There is so much comedy in this tragedy of Mason and Slidell that one cannot but fancy Lord Palmerston enjoying it hugely in his solitude, however loudly, for appearance sake, he may feel called upon to bark. Whatever it may turn out to be in other aspects it is one of those telling incidents that for the moment must provoke the merriment of the world. . . .

J. G. PALFREY.

ADAMS TO EVERETT

FRYSTON HALL, 27 November, 1861.

You ask me my opinion of Mr. Seward's plan of operating on society here, and I will give it you frankly. It seems to me of

no value, and based upon a very superficial notion of the influences that go to form opinion here. People of rank study the American question almost exclusively with reference to the questions that are agitating the nation at home. They are all more or less oppressed with a fear of the growth of democracy mainly through the success of the American example. And in my opinion this fear is not without very good cause. For under all the appearances of material prosperity which abound in this country, I think I perceive the seeds of change which will not fail to fructify on the first occasion of a turn in the wheel of fortune. The rich are growing richer and are rapidly absorbing in few hands the whole landed property of the three kingdoms. The poor are deserting agriculture and flocking to the manufacturing towns, where they live from hand to mouth. But for the great outlet furnished by emigration to the colonies this change alone would have endangered the social economy ere this. The slower and more certain effect is behind—the growth of the consumers and the decline of the producers of bread. If Great Britain be now in terror for the want of the material with which to enable her working people to earn their bread, what will it be when circumstances render it difficult to get the bread itself? It is this fear that agitates society and renders it so much alive to the American difficulties. If the ghost of democracy can be laid the gentry think—

LONDON, Friday 29th.

The clouds have strangely gathered in the sky since this was written. I fully expect now that my recall or my passports will be in my hands by the middle of January. Please not to mention this as coming from me. Very truly yours,

C. F. ADAMS.

As the place of writing and date indicate, this letter was written at the home of Richard Monckton Milnes, in Yorkshire, where Mr. Adams was then a guest, and on the morning of the day upon which he, at a later hour, received news of the arrest of the Trent by Capt. Wilkes, and the seizure of Mason and Slidell. Laying down his pen at this point to accompany his host and a

party of guests in a visit to the ruins of Pontefract Castle, the closing paragraph of the letter was written in London, two days afterwards.

SCHUYLER TO ADAMS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, PARIS, November 29th, 1861.

DEAR SIR: I shall be in London next Wednesday on my way to the United States when I hope to see you. In the meantime, if any complications arise which would bear upon shipments of arms from Havre or Hamburg for the Government, will you please inform Mr. Dayton of it, as I shall leave that matter to his discretion.

We all here are full of interest for you in the difficult questions raised by recent events.

It seems to me that with Great Britain we can justly claim the right of taking upon the high seas individuals charged with high treason, when they have never abandoned the right to claim under similar circumstances any man who is a British subject.

Every confidence is felt in your management of the business.
Very truly yours,

GEORGE L. SCHUYLER.

WINTHROP TO KENNEDY

BOSTON, 29 November, 1861.

Mason and Slidell continue in limbo—a just retribution for the leading part they have taken in plunging the Country into strife. England would have done the same thing under the same circumstances, but I am afraid the bluster on our side will provoke it on hers. I wish I felt as well satisfied that Morehead and Faulkner were imprisoned for good cause as I do that Mason and Slidell are. [Charles James Faulkner (1806-1884) was appointed minister to France by Buchanan, and was arrested on his return to the United States in August, 1861, and detained as a prisoner of state until December, when he was exchanged for Alfred Ely, member of Congress from New York, taken by Confederates at Bull Run.] A letter which Faulkner wrote our

friend William Appleton made us feel that his case was a hard one, and there is a story that his daughter is dying at Philadelphia, and that Morehead's wife has gone crazy. Meantime, a miserable clamor has been raised by a few of our bitter spirits because some persons have sent down a few creature-comforts to alleviate the condition of old friends. One of our malignant presses calls us sympathizers in Rebellion, and threatens to send our names to the Secretary of State! I hope you will give Seward to understand that a malicious spirit of misrepresentation prevails in this quarter, which vents itself upon everybody who is not ready to embark in an Abolition Crusade. For myself, I have done so little for the prisoners that I almost feel a compunction at having seemed wanting in kindness. It is wretched policy not to treat them with humanity and consideration. I go for putting down the Rebellion with all my heart, and whatever is necessary for the safety of the Government *must be done*. But the fewer extreme cases are exhibited as we go along, the fewer regrets we shall have in the end. We have had rare doings in Boston this week. Sumner led off with a violent Emancipation harangue. Ward Beecher followed, and Wendell Phillips came after. To-night "Jim Lane" of Kansas takes his turn. [Sumner's address was on "The Rebellion," and was delivered on Monday night, November 25, under the direction of the Fraternity Association. Beecher spoke at the Tremont Temple on Tuesday, upon "Camp and Country." Phillips delivered a lecture at Music Hall, under the management of the Mercantile Library Association, taking for his subject "The War." In a revised form it is printed as "The War for the Union." Gen. Lane was on his way to take his seat in the Senate of the United States, and spoke at Tremont Temple.] Meantime, the Wilkes banquet betrayed some of our more moderate men into expressions which were by no means happy. I trust the President's Message will straighten things out, and sound a key which will bring back the press and the people to the true music of the Union. We are on the highroad to success, if the mischief-makers do not tear up the track.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

MOTLEY TO ADAMS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA AT VIENNA,
30 November, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS,—You must pardon me for trespassing a moment upon your time, but, indeed, it is absolutely *necessary* that I should know from the fountain head, exactly the state of the case. I therefore implore you to write me a note, however short, as soon as conveniently may be, telling me what you are going to do,—whether you are leaving at once, or whether, as probably is the case, you wait until the response comes from America to the English declaration of war; for I suppose it can be regarded in no other light.

If I am making mistakes, you must ascribe it to the fact that I am only in possession of a brief telegram which reached me last night, dated yesterday, 29th. This purports to be an “*official*” statement in the *Morning Post*, that the “crown lawyers have decided the arrest of Mason and Slidell to be an invasion of international law, and an insult to England; and that the cabinet have resolved to demand satisfaction to gether with the release of the prisoners, an apology to them, and compensation.”

I have not yet learned even the circumstances of the capture. I assume that the *Trent* is a merchant vessel, and that the arrest was upon the high seas. If these suppositions are correct, I take it that the idea of the action’s being contrary to international law, cannot be entertained by our government. The English jurisdiction over its *merchant* vessels is of course only municipal, not territorial, and extends only to its own subjects, not to ours. The high seas are not English territory, nor is a merchant vessel of England navigating them, a portion of English territory. The law of nations governs on the sea, and that law justifies a belligerent in dealing with his enemy where he can catch him, except on neutral ground.

I beg your pardon for troubling you with what is at your fingers’ end. We know too well how often English cruisers in time of war have boarded our merchantmen and taken out her sub-

jects, even when they were our naturalized citizens, and that she has never renounced that right.

She has now thrown off the mask, and espoused openly the cause of the slaveholders. I am at least grateful to her, that she has put the issue so neatly, that there can be but one voice in America on the subject. She goes to war with us as the champion of Mason and Slidell, the two leaders of the slaveholders' rebellion—and all the sophistry of her judges, or brutality of her speakers and publicists cannot hide that plain fact.

She will damage us horribly, and hopes she has found the opportunity utterly to crush a hated rival; but I think she will find more resistance than she expects. Her first blows will be tremendous. When I left, there wasn't a gun to defend Boston harbor, and I suppose orders will be sent to her fleets to pitch in at once—so that we are all about ruined. I really wish you would let me have a brief statement of the facts, as I am in a *most mortifying position*, if I don't know all that is to be known.

Am I right in my assumption as to the facts of the arrest?

Am I right in assuming that the demand of England will be met by the peremptory refusal of our government?

Will there be any delay in the hostilities or will they commence at once?

After all, you are in better position than any of us. You can go home. We must stay, and never receive a letter from home, perhaps for years, and not know what is the fate of our nearest friends and relatives. Moreover, in case of the most stringent blockade which doubtless will be put on our ports, it will be almost impossible for us to obtain funds from America, even to support life.

I shall never regret that I have been completely duped by the English. I believed their statesmen governed by a high sense of honor and justice, and almost alone among Americans, I have been defending them every day. I never could have suspected them of such perfidy and brutality.

This conduct, if the facts be as I suppose, is one of the most infamous crimes that history has ever recorded. England stands up before the world, the champion of the slaveholders, in order to crush a nation which was at peace with her. I hope, at any

rate, that our government will no longer hesitate to proclaim a general emancipation. It may be a brutum fulmen, but that is not so certain—and at any rate, it will serve still more to unmask the treachery and villainy of England.

Once more I pray you to let me have a line from you, that I may know exactly how the case stands. . . .

J. L. MOTLEY.



The Site of the Memorial to the Pilgrim Fathers, Southampton, England

The Pilgrim Memorial

WITH picturesque ceremony the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers from Southampton on August 15, 1620, was commemorated at Southampton, England, on August 15.

It was originally intended to erect a memorial in which the bow of the "Mayflower" should be a prominent feature, but this had to be abandoned on the ground of expense. Instead, there were laid the buttresses of a simpler memorial, consisting of a pillar of stone some fifty feet high.

The proceedings opened with a luncheon, at which the Mayor of Southampton, Councilor H. Bowyer, R. N. R., was supported by many prominent Americans, and congratulatory messages were received from several descendants of the old Pilgrims. Vernon A. Field cabled, promising a panel to the memorial on behalf of the Aldens of America, whose ancestor, John Alden, was the only Southampton man in the Pilgrim company. The menu was appropriate to the occasion—"John Alden" and "Winslow" potatoes, "New England beans," and "Brewster salad" figured therein, while "Priscilla cream" and "Mayflower ice pudding" were in great demand.

The toast, "The Immortal Memory of the Pilgrim Fathers," was submitted by the Sheriff of Southampton, Councillor A. C. Hullett, and responded to by J. H. Scaverus and Arthur Lord, President of the Pilgrims Society of Boston, Mass.

A visit was afterward paid to the West Gate, through which the Pilgrims passed to the "Mayflower" in 1620, and the four cornerstones of the memorial were afterward laid. The memorial is founded on a buttress many hundreds of years, old, on which the Normans built the first wall of the city.

Most people, both in England and in America, have a rooted

opinion that the Pilgrim Fathers sailed from Plymouth. That, indeed, was their last port of call, but Southampton maintains, and rightly, that the voyage began there. Two vessels started on this momentous enterprise, but the "Speedwell" was found to be unseaworthy and was left behind at Plymouth.

The site of the memorial is on the face of the old city wall, just east of the West Gate and abutting on the Old West Quay. The West Quay remains much the same to-day as it was when the Pilgrims embarked from it on the Speedwell and the "Mayflower."

The events leading up to the Pilgrim's expedition are thus described by Dr. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, who is the originator of the scheme of the memorial:

"When the little community of English refugees at Leyden had decided to emigrate to America, and had made preliminary arrangements with the English Government, two of their number, Robert Cashman and John Carver, were sent to England to procure a ship and purchase stores. John Carver came to Southampton (apparently in June, 1620) and spent £7,000 on provisions for the voyage and the subsequent settlement. Meanwhile, Robert Cashman, in London, sought financial support for the departure, and hired the 'Mayflower' to transport the emigrants across the Atlantic. She reached Southampton at the end of July.

"In the meantime the Pilgrim company in Leyden sailed from Delfhaven on the 'Speedwell,' which joined the 'Mayflower' about Aug. 5. The 'Speedwell' was leaky; repairs had to be effected, and it was not until Aug. 15 that the vessels set sail. They had been eight days at sea when the Captain of the 'Speedwell' found his ship leaking again, and they put into Dartmouth to refit. They sailed thence on Sept. 2; but when they had gone about 100 leagues beyond Land's End, once again the Captain of the 'Speedwell' raised an alarm. His ship was so leaky, he said, that she must either bear up or sink at sea. In profound dejection the Pilgrims put back—to Plymouth, this time. Some few of them gave up the enterprise altogether; but the rest, 102 in number, abandoning the 'Speedwell' as hopeless, re-embarked on the 'Mayflower' on Sept. 16.

“A somewhat painful voyage of sixty-seven days brought them to the Promised Land. A month was spent in exploring the coast to find a spot suitable for a settlement. At last the predestined place was discovered, and on Dec. 22, 1620, John Alden, a Southampton artisan, first of all the company, set foot on Plymouth Rock. New England was established.”

“Pap” Singleton, the Moses of the Colored Exodus*

PROFESSOR WALTER L. FLEMING, Louisiana State University

DURING an investigation of that movement of negroes from the South to Kansas in 1879-80, known as the “Colored Exodus,” the writer of this sketch was impressed by the importance of the activity and influence of one man, an ignorant negro, who in himself seemed to embody the longings and the strivings of the bewildered negro race. His name was Benjamin Singleton, but on account of his advanced age and kindly disposition most people called him “Pap;” he himself later added and insisted upon the title, “The Moses of the Colored Exodus.” He was born a slave in 1809 at Nashville, in middle Tennessee, and was by occupation a carpenter and cabinet maker. Evidently he was of a restless disposition, and probably his master considered him “trifling,” for “Pap” asserted that although he was “sold a dozen times or more” to the Gulf States, yet he always ran away and came back to Tennessee. Finally he decided to strike for Canada and freedom, and after failing in three attempts he made his way over the “Underground Railway” to Ontario, opposite Detroit. Soon afterward he came back to Detroit where he worked, he says, until 1865 as a “scavenger,” and also kept a “secret boarding-house for fugitive slaves.”

Singleton was not of imposing appearance. From newspaper descriptions of him written during the 70's we learn that he was a slender man, below medium height, a light mulatto with long, wavy iron-gray hair, gray mustache, and thin chin whiskers.

*Abridged from an article in *The American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1909.

"After freedom cried out," Pap was not content to remain in the North and soon went back to his old home in Tennessee. His experience in the North had opened his eyes to the economic weaknesses and dangers of his race, and soon he began to complain that the blacks were profiting little by freedom. They had personal liberty but no homes, and they were often hungry, he says, and were frequently cheated. He then began his "mission," as he called it, urging the blacks to save their earnings and buy homes and little plots of land as a first step toward achieving industrial independence. He declared in 1868 that his people were being exploited for the benefit of the carpetbaggers, whose promises were always broken:

After the war [he said] my race willingly slipped a noose over their necks and knuckled to a bigger boss than the old ex-one. . . . Bimeby the fifteenth amendment came along and the carpetbaggers, and our poor people thought they was goin' to have Canaan right off. But I knowed better. . . . I said to 'em "Hy'ar you is a-potter'n round in politics and tryin' to git in offices that aint fit, and you can't see that these white tramps from the North is simply usin' you for to line their pockets and when they git through they'll drop you and the rebels will come into power and then whar'll you be?"

In 1869, he says, he succeeded in inducing some negroes to get it into their minds that they ought to quit renting and farming on the credit system and endeavor to secure homes of their own. In order to direct their efforts he and others organized and incorporated at Nashville the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association. The professed object of the organization was to assist Tennessee negroes to buy small tracts of farm land, or houses and lots in the towns to which so many negroes flocked after the war. Local societies were organized and incorporated under such names as the Edgefield Real Estate Association, in Davidson County, and these held frequent meetings in the negro churches and secret-society halls. Numbers of the whites favored the movement and gave assistance and encouragement to Singleton, while others opposed it.

The conviction grew upon Singleton that the negroes must be segregated from the whites. Whether they were friendly or un-

friendly, he felt that they should be separated for the good of the blacks. The only remedy, he decided, was for the blacks to quit the South and go to a new country where they would not have to compete with whites.

Singleton then turned his thoughts to Kansas as the most promising place for the settlement of home-seeking blacks. Beginning with 1869 a few negroes went to Kansas each year to open small farms on the fertile prairies. Singleton went himself to Kansas in 1873 as representative of the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association, of which he was president. He was favorably impressed with the country and, returning to Nashville, he took three hundred blacks to the public lands in Cherokee County in the southeastern part of Kansas and there founded "Singleton Colony."

From this time to 1879 Singleton was actively engaged in developing negro sentiment in Tennessee and Kentucky in favor of emigration or "exodus" to Kansas. In 1876 the local organizations in Tennessee were active, and Singleton and Columbus Johnson, another shrewd Nashville negro, went to Kansas and looked up more good locations for settlements on the public lands. An arrangement was made by which Johnson was to stay in Topeka and from there direct the newly arriving blacks to the various colonies.

The "exodus" songs possess considerable interest and afford an insight into the feelings of the black people. Pamphlet copies of these, poorly printed by negro printers, were sold by Singleton at ten cents each. The money received helped to pay expenses. One of these songs was called "The Land that Gives Birth to Freedom." Some of the verses were as follows:

- 1 We have held meetings to ourselves to see if we can't plan some way to live.
(Repeat).

Chorus—Marching along, yes, we are marching along,
To Kansas City we are bound. (Repeat).

2. We have Mr. Singleton for our president. He will go on before us and lead us through. (Repeat).
4. For Tennessee is a hard slavery state, and we find no friends in that country.
(Repeat).
6. We want peaceful homes and quiet firesides; no one to disturb us or turn us out.
(Repeat).

At the meetings before departure and at the start an "exodus" song was sung. This was called "Extending Our Voices to Heaven." Some lines were:

1. We are on our rapid march to Kansas, the land that gives birth to freedom.
May God Almighty bless you all.

Chorus—Farewell, dear friends, farewell.

2. Many dear mothers are sleeping in the tomb of clay, have spent all their days
in slavery in old Tennessee.
4. It seems to me that the year of jubilee has come; surely this is the time that
is spoken of in history.

These songs indicate clearly the feelings of the negroes. Another song sung on the way and after arrival, was altogether hopeful:

In the midst of earth's dominion
Christ has promised us a kingdom
Not left to other nations
And we've surely gained the day.

Three colonies were founded by Singleton, Johnson, and DeFrantz, and to these most of the negroes who went to Kansas in 1876-78 were conducted. Here, by 1878 the negroes had paid for 1,000 acres of land, good cabins had been erected, cows and pigs were common, and shade trees and fruit trees were growing. The climate here was better suited to the negro than that of the other colonies. In all the colonies the negroes took up homesteads on government land or bought railroad and university lands on long credit at low prices.

Nicodemus, the largest colony, was in less prosperous condition in 1878. Prominent Topeka negroes were promoting this colony, and in 1877 it was being "boomed" as a negro paradise. It was, the promoters claimed, "the largest colored colony in the United States." A town company was incorporated and a fee of five dollars entitled one to membership in the company and to a town lot. Churches were to be built by the company, and no saloons were tolerated. But a migration of negroes reached Nicodemus in the fall of 1877 too late to make crops that year, and in consequence there was considerable suffering during the following winter. They had a song all their own called "Nicodemus." The first verse and the chorus were:

Nicodemus was a slave of African birth,
And was bought for a bag full of gold.
He was reckoned a part of the salt of the earth,
But he died years ago, very old.

Chorus—Good time coming, good time coming,
Long, long time on the way;
Run and tell Elijah to hurry up Pomp
To meet us under the cottonwood tree,
In the Great Solomon Valley,
At the first break of day.

The year 1878 marks the close of the second period of Singleton's activity as a "Moses of the negro race." By the end of the year he had brought to Kansas, so he claimed, 7,432 negroes.

In the early spring of 1879 began what the entire country soon knew as the "negro exodus" from the Egypt of the southern states to the Kansas Canaan. Not all of the negroes from Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana went directly to Kansas. Many of them stopped in St. Louis and waited to hear about conditions in Kansas before going farther. Others stopped because their funds gave out.

Most of the immigrants were destitute, and the whites of Kansas were forced to organize the "Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association" in order to save some of the needy blacks from starvation. Pap was now brought forward by them as an authority on exodus conditions, and for several years he was considered the leading negro of Kansas. At first he was inclined to glory in the movement as a result of his efforts and to say little about causes. However, the "exodus" soon became an issue in Kansas and national politics, and Singleton found that the past treatment of the negroes in the South rather than his own ideas of their future in the Northwest was what northern people, especially the radicals, wanted to know about. So for the first time he raises the familiar "southern outrage" issue, and describes the South as a horrible place where murder, outrage, theft, etc., were common crimes by whites against the negroes. The Southern people were, he said, like "a muddy-faced bellowing bull," and "Democratic threats were as thunder in a colored man's ear," and in consequence the negroes were "exodusting." However, he never went into particulars, and always preferred to talk about "consolidating the race" in a new country. His activity sometimes embarrassed the relief association. He

published frequent appeals in Kansas and eastern newspapers asking that aid be sent to the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association, not only for the relief of the refugees in Kansas, but also for the purpose of assisting more negroes from Egypt to Canaan. "The "exodus" was not well supported by public opinion in Kansas even among the blacks. The whites and resident blacks of Kansas helped the "exodusters" much, but they wanted no more of them; the laboring-class of whites threatened violence if more negroes should come.

This larger "exodus," like Singleton's original one, met opposition from the leading negroes like Fred Douglass, Pinchback, and Bruce, who objected to any scheme of moving masses of negroes into the North. Against these race leaders Singleton spoke with considerable feeling. "They had good luck," he said, "and now are listening to false prophets; they have boosted up and got their heads a whirlin', and now they think they must judge things from where they stand, when the fact is the possum is lower down the tree—down nigh to the roots;" they either "saw darkly" or were playing into the hands of the southern planters who feared a scarcity of labor. To those who objected that negroes without means should not come to Kansas he replied that "it is because they are poor that they want to get away. If they had plenty they wouldn't want to come. It's to better their condition that they are thinking of. That's what white men go to new countries for isn't it? Who was the homestead law made for if it was not for poor men?"

Pap was finally made to see that popular opinion in Kansas was not in favor of encouraging further migration of "paupers," and through the influence of the whites he was brought to the point where he used his influence to discourage the exodus movement. But unwillingly did he come to this. In May, 1879, he had denounced in advance a meeting of the National Negro Convention soon to be held at Nashville for the purpose of considering the causes of the exodus and the condition of the blacks. He feared that the negroes like Douglass and Pinchback would control the convention and try to keep the blacks in the South. He wanted the Kansas Negro Convention, which was to be held about the same time, to inform southern negroes about Kansas

and assist them to get there. Soon, however, in order to relieve and reassure Kansas, he planned to divert the immigration to the states farther west, but only a few went to Nebraska and Colorado. His next plan, suggested by the whites, was to turn the migration to the states north of the Ohio. He visited Illinois and Indiana to investigate conditions, but received little encouragement. He then began to play upon the fear of the whites in those states about a possible "exodus," declaring that the "exodus was working," but that if the North would force the South to treat the negroes well, let them vote, sell land to them, etc., they would stay in the South. The migration began to decrease in the summer of 1879 and Singleton busied himself in looking after the negroes in the colonies, and in the relief work. About 200 Tennessee negroes went to his colonies in 1879 besides those from the lower South. When the exodus began afresh in the spring of 1880, the Kansas newspapers very willingly published statements from Singleton advising prospective "exodusters" either to stay at home or to scatter out into other northern states, for, as all maintained, Kansas had her share, there was no employment for more, and no more aid could be given to them.

In 1880 we hear Singleton and others complaining that certain funds raised by the relief societies for the needy "exodusters" had been turned over to a negro school. This, they protested, was not right; the money should be divided among those for whom it was raised—the "exodusters"—and not given to a school. Singleton cared little for schools and disliked educated negroes. Singleton was called before the exodus committee of the U. S. Senate in 1880 and in his testimony explained at length his plans and methods. After describing the "real estate" companies, his Kansas colonies, and his method of advertising, he spoke of the causes of the movement which, in his opinion, were mainly social and economic.

When in the fall of 1880 Singleton went to Illinois and Indiana he had a double mission: to see if there was room for "exodusters," and to deliver Republican speeches in favor of Garfield. In November after the Republican victory, Singleton declared that to him was due the credit for making Indiana safe for Gar-

field. He explained it by saying that after he learned that the Democrats feared colonization of negroes by the Republicans, he had gone to their leaders and told them that "unless they allowed the state to go Republican he would import 250,000 negroes into the state."

For various reasons some of the negroes, especially the ex-politicians from Louisiana and Mississippi, were dissatisfied with the "lily white" policy of the white Republicans, and their restlessness invited an attempt by the "Greenbackers" to capture the organization of the "Links." Singleton himself began to talk as an "independent," and declared that the Kansas Democrats had treated the negroes as well as the Republicans had. The "Links" and the "Greenbackers" had meetings on the same day at Topeka, and had a joint barbecue, but no fusion was effected. The "exodusters" soon met opposition in labor matters. The migration caused a lowering of wages and the poorer whites became incensed against the blacks in the parts of the state where the "exodusters" were more numerous. One of the professed objects of the "United Links" was to avoid trouble by trying to regulate wages. The negroes were willing to work for less than white laborers, and on this account white employers and white laborers were divided in their opinion as to what the negroes should do.

Singleton looked about for still another "Promised Land." Remembering Canada as a haven for runaway slaves, he suggested an exodus to that place. It was objected that Canada was too cold. He then suggested Liberia, began to preach a new exodus, and in September, 1883, issued an address to the blacks of the South declaring that since they had refused to come to Kansas in sufficient numbers to accomplish good results, the best that they could now do was to go to Canada under the protection of the British government or go to Liberia where they could have a government of their own.

The last years of Pap's life were not spent in obscurity as might have been expected. He was ignorant, he had no property, no home, no family, and it was suspected that smart rascals made use of him in his old age to get money from the generous blacks. But he himself was always popular with both races. In

all the mass of material relating to Pap and his schemes there is no hint that he was not just what he professed to be; no doubt is manifested of his honesty and sincerity. Wherever he went the negroes welcomed him as the "father of the exodus." All his savings he spent on his schemes, and by 1881, in his seventy-third year, he was in want. So he proceeded to announce through the Topeka newspapers that he would accept donations if sent to a certain warehouse. The Topeka *Commonwealth* indorsed his character and motives; and the donations received kept him from want for a time.

A year later the blacks at Topeka planned a birthday party for the old man. The celebration was to be held in a park and five cents admission fee charged. Pap at once announced that all who desired to assist him entertain his friends on his birthday might send donations—"anything in the way of eatables," he said, "will be kindly received." He invited the higher government officials at Washington to attend his party, and some of them sent polite regrets which he had printed in the local newspapers. He made out a programme and put the Kansas notables—governor, mayors, preachers—down for speeches. They did not come, but the party was a success. One hundred guns were fired at sunrise and a hundred more at sunset; "John Brown's Body" was sung, everybody had a good time, and Pap made \$50 clear. The next year a barbecue on his birthday netted him \$274.25. In 1884 the negroes of St. Louis gave him a celebration, and so it was until he died at Topeka in 1892 at the age of eighty-three. At all of his celebrations Singleton gloried in his title of "father (or Moses) of the exodus," and as the years passed his achievements were greatly magnified by himself and others. For instance, the St. Louis and Topeka newspapers in the late 80's declared that Singleton brought 82,000 negroes out of the South; this was about ten times the actual number.



PRIMROSE



COHAN

Two Old-Time Minstrels

Minstrel Songs of Other Days

FAMOUS BALLADS, SONGS AND DITTIES SUNG BY THE MINSTREL
BOYS OF '68-'73

BY BILLY S. GARVIE

MINSTREL music for many years has had a strong hold upon the amusement loving public. Much of the popularity of the old-time minstrel shows was due to the fine singers. The shows of forty and fifty years ago, did not have the big numbers that we see upon the minstrel stage of to-day. What a sensation Haverley's "Forty Count Them" Minstrels created in the early '80's! The older generation of patrons of the minstrels can recall the small numbers in the old troupes. Each troupe had its famous singers and its overture, with its songs, ballads sentimental and comic, ditties, and the opening and closing choruses.

The list of old-time minstrel songs and the minstrel boys that sang them may recall to many the names of those who, with blackened faces, merry songs and jokes, entertained the theatre patrons of a generation ago. Many a boy has heard his father or grandfather sing some of these old-time melodies. To-day we seldom hear them although some of our vaudeville theatres are using some of these old songs. During Old-Timers Week at the writer's home town, Hartford, Conn., Billy Ward, of the veteran song and dance team of Fox and Ward sang Stephen Foster's famous old-time song "Uncle Ned" and scored a big hit; it was a treat to many to hear that famous song again.

Most of the "old-guard" of burnt cork artists have passed away; only a few are active and on the stage to-day. How much of the popularity and success of negro minstrelsy is due to the

song, the singer, dancer, banjo, bones or tambourine, it is hard to tell.

It was the song, not the singer which moved Thackeray to write years ago.

"I heard a humorous balladist not long since, a minstrel with wool on his head, an ultra ethiopian complexion, who performed a negro ballad that I confess moistened these spectacles in a most unexpected manner, a vagabond with a corked face and a banjo sings a little song, strikes a note, which sets the heart thrilling with happy pity." There is a big difference between the genuine negro minstrel songs and singers of the 60's and 70's, and the minstrel songs of to-day.

Ben Cotton and Sam Sharpley's Minstrels were famous in 1868, and many may recall their songs and ballads. Ben Cotton's favorites included "Larry McGee," "Hi Cum Go," "I A'int a Going to Tell." Sam Sharpley sang "Tea Table Tattlers," "Cruel Mary Holder." "Write me a Letter From Home," by John H. Murphy, "The Old Orchard Cot," by Jos. Cooke.

The minstrel boys of '68 sang "Oh Would I Were a Fly," "Ellanore," "Stars of Night," "Cut on the Levee," "I've no Mother Now I'm Weeping," "Maribelle," "The Old Church Yard," "I Wish I Was a Fish," "Meet Me, Josie at the Gate," "Can't See the Point," "Red Hot Darkey."

"Hunkey Dorum, I'm the Boy" sung by "Hank" T. Mudge, the clog dancer.

Many may recall Carncross and Dixey's Minstrels with John L. Carncross the sweetest tenor minstrelsy ever knew singing "How Can I Leave Thee" and "Carrie Lee." Sam Sanford sang his old-time hit "Billy Barlow;" (a big favorite) and Frank Moran, "Doley Jones," and F. Campbell, "Dear Mother I'll Come Back Again." Huntley and Emmett's troupe had Billy Huntley playing the bones on the end and singing "Oh Don't Put on Airs;" and "Don't You Hear the Bulgine," and C. Emmett, "Susy Brown;" J. Warner, "Life on the Ocean Wave," and "Old Aunt Sally," during the overture. Billy Arlington, sang "Funniest Thing is a Frog;" Cool Burgess,

"Pretty Little Sarah," and the great basso O. P. Sweet, "Childhood's Memories," in the overture with Arlington's minstrels.

La Rue's Minstrels overture included the following songs "Hi-Cum-Go," by Johnny Collins; "Red Hot Darkey," Fayette Welch; "Meet Me Josie at the Gate," by C. Wheaton. The original Georgia Minstrels had some famous singers. "Stars of Night" and "Darkie's Jubilee" songs by the company. Sam Waldron, sang "Ellanore"; Lou Johnson, "Down In Mobile"; Chas. B. Hicks, "Dreaming of Home"; Bob Height, his famous end song "Joseph Moses Green," sung in the overture.

Kelly and Leon's Minstrels had "The Only Leon" singing "On the Beach at Long Branch"; R. M. Carroll, in his original "My Father Sould Charcoal" (he had many imitators afterwards) and Geo. and Willie Guy, song and dance "Tom and Jerry." In the overture R. M. Carroll, sang "Paddy's Dream"; J. H. Surrige, "Driven From Home"; H. Leslie, "Hold Your Horses."

Morris Brothers Trip Around the World Minstrels with their famous quartette sang "The Gal I Left Behind Me," "Life on the Ocean Wave," and "Nix Good the Sourkrout Man." J. J. Kelly sang "Beautiful Dreamer," "Pat Malloy," and "Annie O'er the Banks O'Dee." When Billy Morris, sang his "Listen to the Mocking Bird," he made a big hit for many years, and even today it seems as if the people will never tire of it. J. A. Barney, "Down By the Riverside I Stray"; Lou Morris', "Student's Song"; Masters Sheridan and Mack, "Barn Door Jig" and "She's As Lovely as a Rose." Billy Morris gained fame as a whistler, singer and bone player on the end.

Mudge and Parlmees with "Hank" Mudge singing "Hunkey Dorum"; J. H. Wilson, "Maribelle"; Jake Wallace, "I Wish I Was a Fish"; and G. W. Purcelle, "The Old Church Yard"; in the overture.

Many may remember these minstrel songs of '68 "I've no Mother Now, I'm Weeping." O. P. Sweet, the great basso sang "Childhood's Memories," and "The Old Sexton." "Waiting for the Shadows," "We Parted by the Riverside," "Pretty Little Sarah," "Happy Boyhood," "You've Been a Friend to me." "Capt. Jinks of the Horse Marines," "Stars of Night,"

"Dreaming of Home," "Kiss Me Good Bye Darling," "Darling Minnie Lee," "By Words of the Day," "The Little One That Died," "Alice Clair," "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming," "Hither We Come Darling," "Nelly's Candy Shop," "Sweet Flower, Emblem of Purity," "It Seems but yesterday," "Monkey's Wedding," (Billy Arlington's end song) "The Cot Where I was Born," "Paddy's Dream," "Darling Little Charlie," "The Irish Piper," "Sally Come Up," "Susy Brown," "Nobody's Child," "Nursery Rhymes," "Bourbon Bob" (Champagne Charlie's Brother) all were sung by the minstrel boys in 1868.

Several minstrel shows were on the road in 1869, and the songs, ballads and ditties sung by them will be recalled by many. They included LaRue's Minstrels with Happy Cal Wagner, end man singing "Grant's Inauguration Ball," Jerry Cohan, (it may be news to many that Jerry Cohan was a minstrel man for a few years) sang "Da, Da" his famous end song. The following program of La Rue's Minstrels is very rare and much sought after by collectors.

Hartford, Conn.

Robert's Opera House

June 2, 1869

La Rue's Minstrels.

Overture.....	La Rue's Minstrels
Opening chorus	La Rue's Quartette
The Little One That Died.....	F. Girard
Grant's Inauguration Ball.....	Cal Wagner
Lottie Lee	F. Campbell
Da Da	Jerry Cohan
A Finished Education.....	Girard, Wagner, Cohan and Co.

PART SECOND.

Fancy DanceFrank Wells

THE HAUNTED WIGMAKERS!

Old FuzzleFrank Girard
 Pete ScrousehornCal Wagner

Jerry Flipup	Jerry Cohan
Jim Highflyer	Frank Campbell
Song and Dance	Jerry Cohan
Mrs. Jinks of Madison Square.....	Cal Wagner
Italian Airs by Native Artist!	
In which the great "Ricardo" will appear, supported by Cal Wagner and F. Girard.	
The Dublin Dancing Master.....	Jerry Cohan

NOBODY'S COAT

and

SOMEBODY'S DAUGHTER!

Septimus Pecksniff	Cal Wagner
Mr. Dusenburg	F. Girard
Byron Buchanan	F. Campbell
Anastasia Matilda Duzenburg.....	Frank Wells

To conclude with a new and entirely original Walk Around performed by this company only, entitled:—

Shoo! Fly! Don't Bodder Me!

Morris Brothers Minstrels of 1869, one of the best on the road rendered the following songs in the overture, "Bohemian Girl," company; "Mary Jane," and "Cream Colored Horse," Billy Sweatnam; "Let All Obey," M. Ainsley Scott; "Listen to the Mocking Bird," Billy Morris; E. Holmes, "Adleline, lost Adleline"; Master Lou Morris, "Kathleen with the Golden Hair." During the show M. Ainsley Scott, sang Barcarole, "Here upon My Vessel's Deck" (from the Prison in Edinburg). Buckley's Serenaders and the best Brass Band in the World, were the billing of this famous troupe in 1869. In the overture G. Swaine Buckley, sang "Pretty Polly Primrose"; J. H. Murphy, "When the Corn is Waving Dear;" Jake Budd, "Sweet Rosa Jane"; J. Waterman, "The Day That You'll Forget Me"; G. S. Buckley, "If you Love Me, Do Say Yes"; O. P. Sweet, "The Old Sexton," and "Good Old Friends," "Double Action Darkey,"

"Beautiful Snow Drop," "Laughing Song," "Oh Take Me To Thy Heart Again."

J. H. Haverley's Minstrels had famous singers in the overture, Sig. J. Brandisi, singing "Softly, Love the Stars Are Beaming"; Charley Reynolds, "Ann Maria"; Sig. Gustave Bidaux, "I am Dreaming of You"; Charlie Pettingale, "That's the Way We Go," were drawing cards wherever the show presented its program. Skiff and Gaylor's troupe sang the following songs, "Crowned With the Tempest" and "La Neapolitan," by Signor Bidaux; "Blue Eyed Jennie," Johnny Reese; "Shu Fly," (new, first time and original) Low Gaylord; "When Sammy Comes Home," Harry Talbort. "The Step-Mother," a beautiful ballad was sung for the first time in 1869 by Sig. Bidaux, the famous baritone.

While all the minstrels used burnt cork, the Hibernian Minstrels appeared with white face, wore green coats, buff knee breeches, and white stockings. They sang the following old-time Irish melodies, "Let Erin Remember," company; "Paddy McFadden," Capt. Jas. O'Rourke; "Love's Young Dream," May Fitzgerald; "The Minstrel Boy," Wm. Dwyer; "Believe Me if all Those Endearing Young Charms," James MacEvoy; "Ginerl Pat," Acton Kelly. This company played to crowded houses everywhere and created a big sensation.

Some of the songs made famous in 1869, included "She's a Gal of Mine," "I am Dreaming," "That's the Way They Go," "Good Old Friends," "Rustic Beauty," "Cop-Pena-Bid-Dhu," "Don't Go Tommy," "I am Dreaming of You," "Beautiful Snow Drop," "Blue Eyed Nellie," "Jennie Who Lives in the Dell," "O'er the Hills Bessie," "The Ragmuffin," "Tinker and Tailor," "Hen's Convention," "Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe," "When You and I Were Young," "Read Me a Letter From Home," "Youth and Folly," "The Little One That Died." Dave Reed, the famous end man sang "The Hardware Line," and "Sugar Cane Green."

J. W. McAndrews, (one of the greatest impersonators of the oldtime southern darkey) sang his famous watermelon song, with Dan Bryant's troupe, which rendered the following "De Tinkle of De Banjo," "Driven From Home," "Good Old

Friends," "Topics of the Day," "Da Da's Darling," "Black Eyed Bessie," "Ring the Bell Softly," "Fairy of the Wildwood," "Beautiful Bells," "Coming Thr' the Rye," "Ain't I Sweet," "The Darkey at the Play," "My Bonnie Queen," "If Maggie Were My Own," "Glad Tidings From Home," "Pompey's Marriage," "Where is My Nancy Gone," "From Our Homes the Loved are Fading."

In 1870 Duprez and Benedict's Minstrels were known all over this country and had many old-timers in their troupe. In the overture they had as endmen Hughey Dougherty, singing "It's Nice to be a Father" and Lew Benedict "Hot Corn." Both of these grand old minstrel men are still on the stage. "Sally Ann's Away," Chas. Gleason; "I am Lonely no More," D. Swabe Vernon; "Little Brown Jug," (a big hit) Charlie Reynolds; "The Dear Little Shamrock," Fred B. Naylor, and the famous Coconut Quarett, Benedict, Gleason, Parkhurst and Lew Collins, completed the company.

"Happy" Cal Wagner's Minstrels with Jack Haverley as manager put on a good show their singers including "Put Me in My Little Bed," W. J. McAllister; "Lottie Lee," Frank Campbell; "The Cat in the Corner" (a big favorite) "Happy" Cal Wagner; "Where has Little Baby Gone," F. B. Naylor; and Cal Wagner's original act "Mrs. Jenks of Broadway."

Morris Brothers Minstrels had the "Great Bernardo" singing "Driven From Home" and "Ain't I Sweet"; M. Ainsley Scott, "Pulling Hard Against the Stream"; E. Holmes, "Fairy of the Wildwood," and Willis P. Sweatnam, singing his famous end man song "Cream Colored Horse."

No account of negro minstrelsy would be complete without Bryant's Minstrels. With their troupe in 1870 were many of the most famous minstrel men of the day. A copy of their overture follows.

Robert's Opera House, Hartford, Conn.

Sept. 14, 1870.

Bryant's Minstrels—Part First

OvertureBryant's Minstrels
Operatic Chorus.....Norman, Russell, Grier and Brandisi

Sugar Cane Green.....	W. P. Grier
Meet Me Darling	H. Norman
The Hardware Line.....	Dave Reed
Merry Warbling Birds	J. Brandisi
Comic Ditty	Dan Bryant
Home by the Sea.....	J. G. Russell
Finale—"Jumbo Jim's College".....	Grier, Reed and Bryant

J. W. McAndrews, the "Water Melon Man," a member of this company, was one of the greatest impersonators of the Southern darkey upon the stage in fact he never had an equal. He used his famous act for the first time in the late 50's on the minstrel and variety stage for many years. Many may recall his famous "Watermelon" song with the refrain:

"I'll load up my gun with a sugar plum,
Shoot all the yaller gals one by one,
Barkalingoes, Watermelon Man,
Barkalingoes, Watermelon Man."

Among his songs were "Boy, Go 'Way From Dat Muel," and "Off to Baltimore." McAndrews died in the early 80's. Dan Bryant and Dave Reed rendered their famous song and dance "Shoo Fly," one of the greatest song and dance hits forty years ago, in a never-to-be forgotten manner.

The following minstrel songs were featured by the minstrel boys of 1870, "High, Low, Jack in the Game," "Lead Me Sometimes Where She's Sleeping," "Hikey, Pikey," "Beautiful Louise," "Nellie Dear, I am Going to Leave You," "Maggie May," "Put Me in My Little Bed," "Girl at the Matinee," "I am Lonely no More," "Farewell Jennie," "Merry Warbling Birds," "Home by the Sea," ("Buzz Musketo," Dave Reed's song) "Sunny Days," "I'm Waiting Darling, for Thee," ("Come Back Stephen" an old favorite of Billy Morris), "Telegraph Song," "The Man With the Wooden Leg," "Beautiful Girl of the South," "Sweet Flowers," "Annie O' the Banks O' the Dee."

One of the leading minstrel troupes of 1871 was Duprez and Benedict's. In their overture Frank Dumont, sang "I'm Wait-

ing, My Darling for You"; Geo. H. Edwards, "Pull Back"; Warren Richards, "Beautiful Girl of the South"; John L. Woolsey, "Mama, Where Has Baby Gone"; Lewis Benedict, end song. Grand Finale "From Ocean to Ocean."

Joe Fox and Billy Ward, "Moonlight at Cape May" and "Little Fannie Powers," both big song and dance hits. Charlie Heyward, "Belle of the Masquerade." At the present time Fox and Ward, are playing in vaudeville, and Frank Dumont is manager of a theatre in Philadelphia.

"Hart, Ryman and Barney's troupe, sang "Under the Snow," Henry Norman; "My Loved Nellie," Add Weaver; James Bird of Lake Erie," John Hart; Mama, Where is Baby Gone," D. S. Vernon; "Mother, I Hear the Angels," Harry Saynor; "Golden Showers," company; during the overture.

Other favorites of '71, "The Flowers are Blooming," "The Minstrel Kings," "The Limerick Races"; Cal Wagner's hits "Hi, Cum Go," and "The Cat in the Corner"; "Kiss Me, and I Will Go to Sleep," "Ballet Girl," "Anna Maria Jaybird," "Sam Johnson," "The Whippoorwill," "Sadie Ray," "Bould Jack Donohue" (new) "Dashing Through the Snow," "Little Daisey," "My Sunny Home," "My Love's Gone," "The Grave of Lottie Lee," "Bow-wow-wow," "Come Birdie Come."

The San Francisco Minstrels, a leading minstrel troupe for many years, was noted for its fine singers, in 1872. Dave S. Wambold, the sweetest singer in minstrelsy sang "My Little One's Waiting for Me"; Charley Backus, end man the comic ditty "Its Hard to Love." Billy Birch, the famous end man sang "Liza Jane"; C. Templeton, "Little Darling, Linger Near Me"; E. Markham, "When the Moon with Glory Brightens"; J. F. Oberist, "Tryolean Song"; Bobby Newcomb, "When the Bells are Ringing," a song and dance. Bryant's Minstrels, sang "Be Gay and Banish Sorrow," opening chorus. The "Great Bernado," "Killarney"; Dave Reed, end song "Cackle, Cackle"; W. F. Stanley, "Mollie Darling" J. A. Barney, sang his own song "Kiss Me to Sleep, Mother;" Dan Bryant, his comic end song "Machine Poetry"; Chas. D'Albert, "See, Sir, See"; during their overture in 1872.

"Happy" Cal Wagner's had the following songs in his 1872

troupe, "Come Back Birdie," Charlie Heywood; "Home By the Sea," J. W. Lambert; "Mollie Darling," J. H. Murphy; "Weeping Willow," E. M. Hall; "Oh, My Gal," and "Good Sweet Ham," sung with great success by Cal Wagner. Many may recall "Carry the News to Mary" made famous by this company.

Robert's Opera House—Hartford, Conn.

April 7, 1871

San Francisco Minstrels

Entertainment a La Salon

Part Premier

Overture, arranged by C. Lavelle.....Orchestra

Ballad, "Merry Land of Childhood".....C. Templeton

Tryolean SongJ. F. Oberist

Comic Song, "Hannah Maria".....Charley Backus

Ballad, "God Bless the Little Church Around the Corner,"

D. S. Wambold

Comic Refrain, "The Darkey's Dream,".....Billy Birch

Ballad, "The Grave of Lottie Lee,".....Wm. Dwyer

Finale, "Campagne Galop," She's a Gal of Mine," introducing
the Railroad Overture, with all effects—arranged by C.

Lavelle, San Francisco Minstrels.

Part Second.....Dr. Livingston's African Cabinet

The Two Morning Glories

John Queen—and—Billy West

Little Miss Skillet

Composed and Sung by Rollin Howard

Dr. Hemlock's Office

Dr. Hemlock—J. F. Oberist—William Greely—Billy Birch

Cramps Billy Emmett

Favorite BalladWilliam Dwyer

Happy Nigga Joseph

Billy West

Living pictures of great artists

Charley Backus

See—Ell—Oh—Gee Dance

Johnny Queen

The whole to conclude with the screaming burlesque,

THE GREAT COURT SCENE

Judge Barnyard	Billy Birch
Lawyer Cool	Billy West
Count Joe Blackers	Charley Backus
General Baum	W. Bernard
Clerk of Court.....	G. W. Rockerfeler
Officer	J. F. Oberist
Prisoners	Wambold & Emmett
Witness	C. F. Shattuck

Goethe and the Panama Canal

BY G. K. SMITH

IN view of the fact that the Panama Canal is so soon to be opened to the commerce of the world, it is interesting to know that the great German poet, Goethe, who died in 1832, foresaw the building of the Isthmian Canal many years before such a project had even been suggested. Goethe prophetic utterance was based upon the fact that he realized the part that such a canal would play in promoting the interests of a great nation such as the United States was destined to become, not to mention its effect in the development of civilization.

Nearly every philosopher who has left the legacy of his genius to succeeding generations has found a certain comfort in the autumn of his life by turning prophet. Voltaire and Rousseau and many of the later Germans were notable examples. Among these last mentioned, Goethe assumed the role most entertainingly and most spontaneously, but with entire disregard for the preservation of his prophetic thoughts.

What we know of Goethe as prophet is chiefly owing to the restless and indefatigable Johann Peter Eckermann—a person fully as persistent, if not so verbose, as James Boswell—whose “*Gesprache mit Goethe*” has a place of honor in every German library, although untranslated and little known to English readers. Eckermann lived in Weimar through the last ten years of Goethe’s life; scarcely a day passed that he did not visit the poet, then a retired State minister, living quietly and absenting himself from court and theatre alike, so that Eckermann’s work is a careful daily gathering of the intellectual crumbs that fell from the feast of Goethe’s alert and active brain, arranged somewhat in the form of a diary. Thus he reports the conver-

sation which took place February 21, 1827. Goethe, on this day, says Eckerman, spoke with admiration of Alexander von Humboldt, whose work on Cuba and Colombia he had begun reading and whose opinion of the project of cutting through the isthmus seemed to have a special appeal for him.

“Humboldt” said Goethe, “has pointed out, with an accurate understanding of the subject, several other places, where, by the utilization of a number of streams flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, the object might be more readily attained. The solution of this problem, is left to the enterprising spirit of a future generation. Yet this much is certain, if a canal, capable of transporting vessels of every size and tonage from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, were constructed it would produce incalculable advantage for civilized and uncivilized humanity. And I should be greatly surprised if the United States missed their opportunity to accomplish such an enterprise.

“It is to be anticipated that this young nation, with its pronounced westward movement, will, within thirty or forty years, have taken possession of the great stretches of land beyond the Rocky Mountains and populated them. Furthermore, it is probable that all along the Pacific Coast where Nature has provided safe and spacious harbors, there will in time rise up many commercially important coast cities to handle an important trade between the United States and China and the East Indies. But, under these circumstances, it would be not only desirable, but almost essential, that merchant vessels, as well as warships, maintain more rapid communication between the East and West coasts of North America than has hitherto been possible by way of the tedious, disagreeable, and expensive journey around Cape Horn.

“I repeat, therefore; it is absolutely essential for the United States to establish a passage from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and I am sure they will attain this end.

“I should like to live to see this, but I shall not. I should also like to see a connection established between the Danube and the Rhine. Yet this undertaking, too, is so gigantic that I doubt its accomplishment, especially when I consider our German financial limitations.

“Finally, I should like to see the English in possession of a Suez Canal. These three great things I should like to see accomplished. It would be well worth while on their account to bear with life for several half-centuries to come.”

Incidentally, it is interesting to know that Johns Hopkins University is to be the recipient of a bust of Goethe, the gift of Grand Duke Wilhelm Ernst of Saxe-Weimar, the Grand Duchy famed as the home of the poet. The original, from which this bust is to be a copy, was discovered accidentally several years ago and is now one of the great attractions in the Goethe National Museum in Weimar. The new bust will be formally presented to the university next year—about the same time that the canal which Goethe predicted more than eighty years ago, is opened to navigation.

In Search of the Right Road

A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION

BY ARNO DORSH

THIS is a day of strange mix-ups. We all think we know what we want and we want much the same thing, but we are going after it by many different roads. There are those who say the roads all come out together on the other side of the mountain, that some go over and the others around, and some of us believe we have discovered a tunnel through it. But it is yet to be proved that, while the roads all start from the same point, they will all arrive at the same sign post in the land into which we are traveling.

The chief trouble is, I think, that we don't know the roads. There are undoubtedly large armies travelling until they are footsore, with hope shining in their faces, who have a vague goal in view but are not on the right road. I have recently discovered that my own directions were wrong. Either that, or the directions of some very eminent statesmen are not absolutely clear. I have always held myself a Democrat, spelled with both a large and a small "d," but I had occasion to talk with several of the leading insurgents, or Progressives, in Congress and I found that I agreed with them in everything. And I also learned from them that they were greatly in fear of being balked in obtaining their goals by the members of my own party. Am I then a Democrat or an Insurgent—a Progressive?

The answer to the question is that it does not make very much difference. In the policies of the day we are either progressives or reactionaries. It is the day of the progressives. We who are trying to find the goal on the other side of the mountain are

all progressives. We may go under a variety of names, but what we want is a fair chance between man and man. We all want that, and I think that is all we want. There may be some underdogs who hope for an upheaval so they can get on top, but they are in the minority. The great progressive movement is not selfish. That is what gives it strength.

Like all the others who are following these new roads, I believe I am on the right road and I seem to be in a considerable company and it is my purpose here to tell about it. If we are wrong, we have yet to learn it, although it must be admitted that there is another, rapidly growing company which is going a very different road and which is just as sure that it is on the main track. As both companies are absolutely certain they are right, the only benefit to be derived from talking about the matter is that there is undoubtedly a large following to one of these companies which is only sure it is right because it has been told so, and understands the way so little that, at this point, where the roads have not as yet diverged to any great extent, they are switching back from one to the other quite unconsciously.

These two roads really lead—one to Democracy and the other to Socialism. Of the two, the road to Democracy is the older one, the one we Americans most naturally follow. As a nation we have been striving towards democracy for almost a century and a half and we have been drawing steadily nearer to it. We are not there yet, but there are real statesmen abroad in the land who know what democracy looks like and they are leading the country steadily towards it. The best known of these are the men whom we know as the modern Insurgents. They are by blood and tradition, Americans of the older stock. Whatever they may come to call themselves in time, it is my belief that among them will be found a Moses to lead us out of the wilderness. If this statement seems too specific for a general argument, it is made here because of the men themselves. Every one of them is an intense individualist. Each believes in every man for himself within his rights. Where they differ from another class of statesmen is that they have a clearer view of what a man's rights really are. For instance, they do not believe a man is necessarily within his rights because he is within the

law. The law may allow him too great latitude. If so, they say, amend the law and establish a new limit to each man's rights. As civilization advances, the laws are certainly bound to lag behind. Their purpose is to bring the laws up-to-date. And that is their whole purpose. By device, by law, by the reestablishing of public conscience to meet changes they can see the steady progress toward democracy.

At the same time they are fully conscious of the shortcomings of human kind. They look for no utopia. They know there is no reaching an absolute goal, but it is possible to come much nearer to it than we are at present. The attitude of progressives reaching for democracy is based on the same reasoning as the homely analogy used to explain a famous mathematical principle. It is this: if a cat at the bottom of a well jumps half way out, then half the remaining distance and so on—theoretically it will never get out of the well. But, practically, it will come mighty near it, and, for all worldly purposes, it will get out of the well.

The human family in its way out of the well has in this country got to some of the shorter jumps. It has a good many jumps yet ahead of it, before it can begin to consider itself anywhere near out, but it is pretty well along. Now come the Socialists who are growing tired of these short jumps and say, "We don't believe in that mathematical, or human, principle. We believe we can get all the way out and clear away with one good jump." Naturally they have many listeners.

The big split among us is, then, between those who believe in the short jumps and those who are for one grand leap. I'll admit the men who are advocating the grand leap have something more spectacular with which to appeal to the imagination and many of the things they advocate and which they now claim as their own have been tried and successfully worked out, but the great central problem—the grand leap itself—has not yet been taken anywhere—is absolutely untried. Might it not land the cat again at the bottom of the well?

The aviator Rodgers, when he had made the truly remarkable flight across the American continent, grew impatient after he had come almost within sight of the Pacific, and was not content

to proceed with the same caution which had brought him so far. He attempted to cover the last few miles without sufficient consideration to detail. The result was a bad fall that almost prevented the completion of the most spectacular flight made with the aeroplane. We who have come so far towards our goal are likely to meet the same fate if we hurry unduly toward the end.

For we are well on in our course. The human race has come a long way. The system of dealing out justice between man and man as individuals has proved as successful as any human device for securing justice could be expected to be. And it is steadily taking new jumps.

There have been quite a number of Socialists—out-and-out Socialists—elected to office in recent years. Quite a number of new Socialist mayors were added to the list last November. What I should like to ask is whether the men who voted for them really understood Socialism. I have heard a good many Socialists speak, and I have noticed that they bear down chiefly on the ills to be corrected. If they outline the final purpose of Socialism, it is only an outline they give, and a sketchy one at that. I am firmly convinced that if they campaigned on the issue of Socialism alone, and did not play on the evils and miscarriages of justice under which we all travel, very few of them would be elected. I do not think that the American people want Socialism. Comparatively few, even among those who vote its ticket, know what Socialism really is.

The truth seems to be that Socialism is growing on account of the very obvious unrest. Socialism offers the most radical remedy, and gets a radical following. Democracy, which can claim the right to cure the same evils gets a more intelligent following. Socialism has also grown on account of the large recent European emigration from the very parts of Europe where socialistic thought has been the keenest.

Socialism is a natural outgrowth of conditions in Europe, and many of the conditions in Europe are beginning to find a counterpart in this country. Why did Schenectady elect a Socialist mayor? You need only see the live thousand men leave the works of General Electric Company to understand why. Let a Socialist campaigner say to those men, "You do not own your

tools. A private corporation owns them. Why not have the State own them, and then you will own them?" That argument strikes home. "Then," adds the campaigner, "that is the only way for you to have industrial democracy as well as political equality." This is a proposition that ought to be understood by the simplest mind. With such arguments brought forward by the Socialists every industrial community where there are large factories threatens to become a hot-bed for the cultivation of Socialism. And, in fact, most of them are so, at least to a certain degree.

Now, to a Democrat this situation is alarming. Because democracy has nothing that talks as well as Socialism. It is not possible to get the ear of men by advocating many small jumps when they have just had offered them one grand jump that promises to relieve them of their burden at once.

Nevertheless, it is only by short jumps that we can get out. It is not my purpose here to discuss Socialism and whether it would fail, or become corrupt, or revert into a state of anarchy, or, as the anarchist put it, "attain to the heights of anarchy." I merely wish to show those who are shifting unconsciously between the two ways, Democracy and Socialism, that, at the present time, we are near together—we are trying for the present to correct the same patent evils—but that the ends we are striving for are very different. It does not make any difference how complete a picture the Socialists can paint and it is not worth arguing whether you, a good deal of an individualist, would get along very well in a state of Socialism. All that is necessary to say, at this period in the course, is that democracy is something we know about. Our country was founded on a basis of democracy. The principle of it was understood at the beginning and we have been gradually working out that principle until to-day we understand pretty clearly what is necessary to obtain and hold democracy—true liberty—for everyone. We understand that there is no such thing as a utopia—that it is as distant as universal peace—but we know that we keep getting nearer both. The development of the movement towards peace has followed natural lines. The progress made has been along the only possible lines—the establishment of fact before arbitra-

tion courts. If we relied on the enthusiasts who stood about and cried for disarmament and the abolition of war at once, we would never get anywhere. Peace is not to be obtained at a bound. You cannot get out of the war-well that way either.

So, if we listen to the cry of the Socialists for immediate equality, we shall get no further out of the well than the peace movement when it had only the enthusiasts yelling for it. Neither peace nor democracy are to be had by painting lovely pictures of what might be. But both are going to be obtained eventually—as far as the limitations of human nature will permit. Both are pretty far out of their wells. It is our duty as citizens to see that all the short jumps are taken at the right time and to show the enthusiast that he will get what he really wants if he will only take the short jumps with us.

The First Electric Power Station

BY W. K. CHAPMAN

THIRTY years ago the 4th of last month—September 4, 1882, to be exact—Thomas A. Edison began the operation of the first central station for the supply of incandescent electric lighting for commercial purposes that the world had ever know.

It was 3 o'clock in the afternoon of that day, in an old brick building, a converted warehouse, in lower Pearl street, that steam was turned into a single dynamo and current was sent through underground cables into about 400 lamps that had been distributed through a territory about a mile square.

The newspaper accounts of this demonstration read curiously in this day. While it was generally admitted that the exhibition had been a success so far as proving that the incandescent bulbs gave light, there was a dubious feeling running through the reports as to whether the invention could be made commercially successful.

In *The New York Sun's* report Edison's appearance on that occasion was thus described: "He wore a white, high crowned derby hat and collarless shirt," and, in an interview which followed, Mr. Edison was quoted:

"I have accomplished all that I promised. We have a greater demand for light than we can supply at present, owing to the insufficiency of men to put down the wires."

Since that day thirty years ago New York City has had electric lighting with only two interruptions, the second and most serious one of which was in 1890, when the old Pearl street station was destroyed by fire.

On this occasion before the flames even had been routed new

dynamos were ordered. In less than four hours time service had been re-established in other quarters. One of the old "jumbo" dynamos, designed by Edison himself, was saved from the fire, and is now treasured as a relic of the old days.

Thirty years ago fifteen miles of underground cable sufficed to connect all the installations. Now 1,400 miles of "underground" sends current to 5,250,000 lamps, while the bills are ticked off by 159,000 meters.

The first electric motor was put on the lines in 1884. For six months previously it lay upon the shelf before any one could be found who was willing to experiment with this novel apparatus. Today, in New York city alone, 336,000 horsepower is used in motors.

Instead of the old reconstructed brick building at 257 Pearl street that housed the six "jumbos," as the old time generators were called, there are now two Bastille-like structures covering two city blocks.

What Autographs are Worth

AN INTERVIEW WITH WALTER R. BENJAMIN

MR. WALTER R. BENJAMIN, who knows as much about autographs and their value as any man in America, recently consented to be interviewed upon this subject.

"The autographs of women do not hold out well," said Mr. Benjamin. "Take the women writers of the last century."

"There are only a few of them that bring good prices. Jane Austen comes highest. She died pretty young, only about 40, and I guess she didn't write many letters. Anyway they're rare now. Have to pay about \$75 for one. That's more than you'd have to pay for lots of the men.

"Mrs. Browning comes pretty high too for a woman. She's more expensive than her husband. You can get a good Robert Browning letter for about \$10, but you'd have to pay \$15 or \$25 for one of his wife's. Of course she was an invalid and didn't write a great many letters. George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë keep up very well indeed at around \$30 a letter. You see they have not only the big reputation but they led interesting lives too. So you have the personality factor to boost the price.

"But you take most women writers. They don't hold out. There's Harriet Beecher Stowe. She used to go first rate, but she fell off terribly for a while. Hardly anybody wanted her. She's been picking up some lately though. Marie Corelli had a kind of a spurt for a time, but," he shook his head, "she's gone off again. Here's a good Christmas Rossetti letter. It's worth only \$3.50. Mme. de Staël holds on pretty well, but nobody cares much about George Sand or the rest of the French women writers.

“And queens! Why there are a hundred men collecting kings to one that wants queens. Elizabeth’s about the only one that comes high. Her signature on a document would bring about \$75. Mary Queen of Scots? Oh, she’s impossible! You just can’t get hold of her at all. If you could find her signature and annex the document you could mark your property up several hundred dollars.

“But most of the queens are very slow. Here’s Queen Anne, for instance. Almost no demand at all for her. I don’t know why. And here’s a Queen Caroline letter. She was a wife of one of the Georges, but \$6 or \$7 is all she’ll bring. Catherine the Great of Russia or Catherine de Medici, that’s different. They’re rare and in demand too. That makes them valuable. Victoria is reasonable, a signed document for \$3 and say \$25 for an autograph letter.

“Letters signed by Edward VII bring about \$20. That reminds me that quite a good while ago an English actor sold me a bunch of six or seven letters which Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, had written to Mrs. Langtry. I sold them for \$25, but later they were sold at an auction and brought as high as \$90 a letter. They were just pleasant epistles of no special interest except for the fact that they were written by the Prince to Mrs. Langtry.

“I haven’t happened to see any autograph letters or documents of the present King, but I should start a signed document at about \$10 and letters at \$15 if I got any of them. Kings don’t always come high. Frederick the Great, for instance, seems to have signed rafts of documents and letters. I have two or three with his characteristic signature of ‘Fritz’ written without taking the pen from the paper and looking more like a double bow knot than like ‘Fritz.’ They’re \$5 apiece. Charles II. of England is cheap too at \$15, considering the interest attaching to him. But Peter the Great of Russia comes higher. I’ve a signed document dated 1724 with the great seal of Russia that costs \$60. You can buy signed letters of the present Emperor William for \$10 apiece.

Collectors have all sorts of fancies. Some want royalties, some want actors and actresses, some want writers. More peo-

ple go in for writers than for any other one line. Women collectors almost always want literary persons. Some women collect bishops, but most of them want writers. Then there are the collectors of actors and actresses and musicians. Some years ago there were several really fine collections along that line. Augustin Daly's was probably the best, but that was dispersed at his death. There isn't the same demand now for that class, although there's a fairly steady market for the best of them.

"There's Mrs. Siddons. She brings \$30; and Kitty Clive, who is rare, fetched more than twice as much. But you can buy Bernhardt or Ellen Terry of Maude Adams for \$3 or \$4 apiece. Duse is the most expensive living actress. She costs \$6 or \$7; but ordinarily successful actors and actresses can be had for 75 cents each. Sometimes a man will pay a little more for a pair of associated letters; for instance one each from Gilbert and Sullivan. These make a neat little framing piece, side by side, and with photographs of the two men added. The letters would cost \$2 each.

"Musicians are in fair demand; but the most interest of course is in the signed score. Here are two Wagner letters; one a note written in response to an invitation in 1845. The other, a long letter about 'The Flying Dutchman,' was written in 1874 and is what is called a 'contents letter.' That is, it is not only autograph writing but it deals with an interesting subject. That naturally adds to the value. The first one is \$25, the other \$40. Here is a signed score, one sheet, by Verdi, dated 1839, that is rated at \$15. Beethoven would cost \$30 to \$50 according to what it was, Mozart about \$75 and Haydn and Bach considerably more.

"You see autographs are divided into four classes. First there is just the signature. It may have been cut from a letter which the recipient didn't want to sell, or didn't want the writer, if the latter were living, to know it had been sold. Or it may have been written on a card at the request of some autograph fiend.

"That's the first class. The second is 'the response to request,' the formal note in which the man says, 'I take pleasure in responding to your request for my autograph' and forthwith

signs his name. The third class is in two divisions, the signed document and the signed letter. The former consists of business or official papers to which a man's name is signed, as in the case of royalty or Government officials, Generals in the army, Cabinet officers, Senators and Representatives. The signed letter is one written by a secretary and merely signed by the person whose autograph is in demand.

"The fourth class is the only one that interests the more serious collectors. It is the holograph, or full autograph letter, everyword of which is written by the signer. If in addition it is a 'contents letter' we have the best class of autograph matter. If further it is a rarity that is the acme of value. There are men, however, who collect only signatures. There are some, too, who want only one page letters, because these can be mounted to show the whole epistle from beginning to end.

"The part that rarity plays in fixing the value of an autograph has a good showing in the case of United States Supreme Court Justices. Most people wonder who would want to collect these Justices, but it's a fad with a great many lawyers. They like to have a complete set in their office. You'd naturally think that men like Marshall and Taney would come higher than any of the rest, but you can buy Taney for \$2 and you have to pay only \$7.50 for John Marshall. But the man who is the despair of everybody is Alfred Moore.

"Not one person in a hundred thousand ever heard of Moore. Yet his signature brings \$80 and is scarce at that. He was a North Carolinian, who was a member of the Supreme Court for only a short time and who seems to have had a deep aversion toward writing his name. The rest of the forty or fifty Justices—that's all we've had in the history of the country—are easy to get except John Blair. You have to pay \$25 for him.

"Probably two of the most popular things with American collectors are sets of the Presidents and of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. There are only two Presidents whose signatures cost anything to speak of. Both Washington's and Lincoln's autographs bring \$10 a piece. That is for the mere signature of course, not for a letter. The rest cost from 50 cents to \$1 each, with the exception of Zackary Taylor, who had

a lame arm and spelled badly, two things which seem to make him disinclined to do much writing. His signatures therefore come at \$2.50 apiece. A complete set of the Presidents costs \$40 or thereabouts. Their letters vary in price according to the contents. Roosevelt epistles of special interest are about \$20, but he's written such an awful lot of them that there's no telling how they'll hold out in value.

"There are tides in autograph prices just as in everything else. The Mexican war, the War of 1812, the Spanish war might as well never have been fought so far as any present interest in the Generals who took part is concerned. And the civil war doesn't have anything like the interest to collectors it did have. There are only a few of its Generals whose autographs have any value. They were prominent men who were killed and whose signatures to military letters are therefore rare. Gens. J. B. McPerson Albert Sydney Johnston and Stonewall Jackson are the best of them. Of course Robert E. Lee and Grant bring better prices. Here's a Lee letter for \$25 about a fair for establishing a home for orphans of Confederate soldiers.

"There has been a slump in all autographs of that period, though the best ones will probably be higher in the future. Even Wilkes Booth has gone down from the \$100 which would have been paid twenty years ago for one of his letters to the \$50 it would bring to-day. I have one in my possession now from which the signature has been cut. It was written two or three months before the assassination of Lincoln. When that tragedy occurred it wasn't exactly healthy for a man to be suspected of intimacy with Booth, so the recipient of this letter evidently cut the signature off and destroyed it. There's an interesting thing in connection with Wilkes Booth autographs, and that is that some collectors won't have one of his signatures in their possession. They seem to have too deep a hatred of him.

"As for the two other assassins with which this country has been afflicted, you can buy Guiteau's signature for \$10, but you can't get that of Czolgosz at any price. Guiteau used to write his autograph and sell it for a dollar while he was in jail. Kept himself in pocket money that way. But Czolgosz was kept absolutely secluded. He was not allowed to write anything. He

really was too ignorant to do much of it anyway. After his execution every scrap of his belongings was destroyed. People tried all sorts of schemes to secure something over his signature but the only person to succeed, so far as I know, was the late John Boyd Thacher of Albany. He got something through one of the wardens I think. The Thacher collection had another valuable letter that might come in the same class. It was written by Charlotte Corday and brought \$500.

"There are collectors who are interested in all these lines, but the main demand in this country is for American historical signatures and for writers.' Any letter written by Thackeray brings \$25 and the price goes up to \$200, according to the contents. Dickens costs from \$10 to \$150, Burns from \$50 to \$250, Shelley from \$75 to \$100, Keats rather more, as is he rarer; Lamb from \$20 up. Lewis Carroll is in good demand at from \$12.50 to \$15. A good letter of Kipling will bring \$8, and Barrie at \$2 isn't high. Stevenson is the most expensive of the recent writers. I sold beautiful letters of his years ago at \$2 apiece. I wish I had them now. They would bring \$25 each at least. Oscar Wilde is picking up wonderfully. Letters that sold for 25 cents years ago are bringing \$20 now.

"The finest private collection in the country is probably that of Simon Gratz of Philadelphia. The Lenox Library and the Pennsylvania Historical Society have the best in any of our institutions. The finest private collection in New York city is that of Adrian H. Joline. Charles F. Gunther of Chicago has an extraordinary collection so far as range and numbers go. He has dozens of Lincolns and Washingtons and a remarkable civil war museum of relics in addition to the autograph end of it. But the Gratz collection, which is probably worth half a million dollars, is remarkable because it is so complete. He doesn't run to duplicates but to comprehensiveness and quality. I suppose there are hundreds of thousands of different items in that collection. The best collectors now, those who are doing the buying, are in the Western cities. The Eastern men have their biggest buying done. The South is taking a hand lately, but chiefly with the purpose of getting back the records that were taken out of the South during the carpenter baggers' regime. The greatest collectors, though, are the English."



SEA GULL MONUMENT, TEMPLE SQUARE, SALT LAKE CITY.

History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXXVI

LIFE IN SALT LAKE VALLEY—CRICKETS AND SEA GULLS—FIRST HARVEST—ADVENT OF GOLD SEEKERS—UNEXPECTED RICHES

THE Spring months of 1848 were full of anxiety for the colony of Saints in Salt Lake Valley. By dint of untiring industry during the fall and winter of 1847-8, they had constructed, notwithstanding the scarcity of material for that purpose and the distance it had to be brought out of the mountains, 3,638 rods, or nearly twelve miles of fence. This made one inclosure of more than five thousand acres, and included in it the chief part of the then city plat.¹ Within this inclosure about 2,000 acres of fall wheat was sown; and as the winter had been mild, and open so that plows could be kept running through part of every month of the winter,

1. "To many it may be interesting to know what portion of the Valley was first fenced," writes Geo. Q. Cannon, and then gives the following description: "On the north, the line of fence commenced at a steep point in the bluffs just south of the Warm Springs—a little east and south of the present Bath House—and ran directly from there to the northwest corner of the Fort; it then started from the southeast corner of the Fort and bore east to some distance beyond Mill Creek, and then east to the bluffs at the foot of the mountains. . . . The land designed for agriculture extended from the north fork of City Creek—which at that time ran through the Temple Block and through what is now known as the 17th and 16th Wards—to one mile south of Mill Creek; on the east it was bounded by the bench and on the west by the east line of the Fort. In this space there were 5,133 acres taken for tilling." Hist. of the Ch.—Cannon—*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 89.

much more land was prepared for spring sowing and planting, variously estimated at between 3,000 and 4,000 acres.²

This was the crop planted for the harvest of 1848. But meantime provisions were running low in the colony, and there were those who were already destitute; and of course there was always the haunting fear that the crop planted might fail as so many of the mountaineers met *en route* had predicted.

In this emergency a public meeting was held and the proposition made that the whole camp be put on rations, that those who were already destitute might be supplied with food. This was agreed to and bishop Edward Hunter and Tarlton Lewis were appointed to act in behalf of the destitute, and see that they did not suffer.³ Beef was scarce as the cattle must be kept for work-teams and the cows for milk. The few "beef" that were killed were poor and their meat tough.⁴

Prevailing hunger drove many in search of the earliest vegetation that made its appearance. This was the hardy thistle, native to the valley, the tops of which were gathered and used for "greens," and pronounced excellent;⁵ the roots of the this-

2. Elder John Taylor in a letter to the Saints in Great Britain under date of Dec. 7th, 1847, reports 2,000 acres of wheat sown, "and great numbers of plows are incessantly going." Also speaks of the colony having put in 2,000 bushels of wheat, "all of which has been drawn a distance of from 1,300 to 1,500 miles"; also mentions the intention to put in about 3,000 acres of corn and other grain with the opening of spring. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XIX, p. 324, Et. Seq.). Cannon says that at the beginning of March 872 acres were sown with winter wheat; . . . The balance of the land 4,260 acres was designed for spring and summer crops." Hist. of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 89. See also Letters quoted by Richards, *Mill. Star*, XI, 8, 9.

3. Cannon, Hist. of the Ch. *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX 68.

4. In one instance "It was so tough," that in sawing the joints Elder Taylor suggested that it would be necessary "to grease the saw to make it work!" Horne's Migration Ms., p. 26. Quoted by Bancroft Hist. Utah, p. 275, note.

5. Cannon Hist. of the Church *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, 68. "Bulk is as necessary as nutriment to food," he remarks. "To have the stomach full was an agreeable sensation, even if the contents were only thistle tops. People thrived better on a much smaller quantity of flour with plenty of greens than they did on flour alone."

The *Sego*, classified by Stansbury as *Calochortus luteus* (See his report to U. S. Government on the survey of the Great Salt Lake—1852—pp. 160, 208), by others as *Calochortus Nuttallii* (See Century Dictionary), is a bulbous root varying in size, from small onions to walnuts, very palatable and nutritious. It abounds on hill sides and in stony ground in great quantities. It bears a beautiful white, lily-like flower, with rich gold and purple markings at the base of the petals; and is now the flower-emblem of the state of Utah, chosen perhaps as much out of sympathetic recollection of the uses made of it for food in the early days of the salt Lake Colony, as for its rare beauty.

tle were also cooked and eaten. The sego root was used as an article of food, the colonists in this but following the custom of the native Indians. Some deaths occurred from eating poisonous roots, chiefly the wild parsnip that grew in the valley.

Meantime March and April passed, and May came on. The colonists noted with joy that their grain which sprouted early promised a strong and healthy growth. Its color was rich, it stood well, and barring frosts, late and early, the harvest would be a bounteous one. But before May passes an unlooked for pest makes its appearance. The Pioneers when entering the valley, it will be remembered, noted that in the foot hills there were great numbers of large, black crickets, which then excited but a passing remark. Now, however, in this month of May, they came swarming from the foot hills literally by millions, and descended upon the new-made fields of grain. They devoured all before them as they came to it. Their appetite never abated. They cutting and grinding day and night, leaving the fields bare and brown behind them. There seemed to be no end to their numbers. They could not fly, their only means of locomotion was by clumsily hopping a scant foot at a time—hence, once in the fields, the difficulty of getting them out; and they came in myriads, increasing daily. Holes were dug and for the radius of a rod the pests were surrounded by women and children, and driven into them and buried—bushels of them at a time; and this was repeated again and again; but what was the use? This method seemed not to affect the numbers of the pests. Then the men plowed ditches around the wheat fields, turned in the water and drove the black vermine into the running streams and thus carried them from the fields and destroyed them by hundreds of thousands—all to no purpose; as many as ever seemed to remain, and more were daily swarming from the hills. Fire was tried, but to no better purpose. Man's ingenuity was baffled. He might as well try to sweep back the rising tide of ocean with a broom as prevail against these swarming pests by the methods tried. Insignificant, these inch or inch and a half long insects separately, but in millions, terrible! The incident illustrates the formidableness of mere numbers. Since the days of Egypt's curse of locusts there was

probably nothing like it. The failure to destroy these pests spelled famine to these first settlers of Salt Lake Valley. It meant starvation to the companies of thousands of women and children then *enroute* across the plains. Small wonder if the hearts of the colonists failed them. They looked at each other in helpless astonishment. They were beaten. That is something awful for strong men to admit, especially when beaten by units so insignificant. Meantime the ceaseless gnawing of the ruthless and insatiable invader went on. The brown patches of the wheat fields grew larger. Soon all would be bare and brown, and hope of food and life would disappear with the recently green wheat fields.

Then the miraculous happened. I say it deliberately, the miraculous happened, as men commonly view the miraculous. There was heard the shrill, half scream, half plaintive cry of some Sea Gulls hovering over the Pioneer's wheat fields. Presently they light and begin devouring the crickets. Others come—thousands of them—from over the lake. The upper feathers of the Gulls' wing are tinted with a delicate gray, and some of the flight feathers, primaries, to be exact, are marked with black, but the prevailing color is white; and as they came upon the new wheat fields, stretched upward and then gracefully folded their wings and began devouring the devourers, to the cricket-vexed colonists they seemed like white-winged angels of deliverance. They were tireless in their destructive—nay, their *saving* work. It was noted that when they were glutted with crickets they would go to the streams, drink, vomit and return again to the slaughter. And so it continued, day after day, until the plague was stayed, and the crops of the Pioneers saved.⁶

Is it matter for wonder that the lake sea gull was held as sa-

6. The incident is well attested in all our annals. See "Answers to Questions" 1869, by Geo. A. Smith, Church Historian, 1854-1875, p. 17. Geo. Q. Cannon, an eye witness of the event, after describing the descent of the crickets upon the fields, writes: "At the time when the prospects began to appear most gloomy, and all human power seemed useless, the sea gulls came in flocks, visited the fields, pounced upon the crickets and devoured them. They killed and ate until they were filled, then vomited and ate again. On Sunday the fields were deserted by the people, who devoted the day to worship. This was a feast for the gulls—they devoured without let or hindrance. On Monday morning, on visiting the fields, the people found on the edges of the water ditches, the place where the crickets were always the most numerous, pile after pile of dead crickets which had been eaten by the gulls, and then vomited when they were full." Hist. of the Ch. *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

cred by the early Utah settlers, and that later it was protected by legislative enactments.⁷

The reports of the harvest of 1848 vary somewhat, doubtless influenced by the view point of the narrator. To many of the colonists on the ground, who had felt the pinch of hunger, the vegetables and grains seemed abundant, and the fruitfulness of of the soil phenomenal;⁸ while to those who regarded the harvest as to its real results only, and without having hungrily waited for it, are less enthusiastic.⁹ The harvest, however, was

7. See Laws of Utah for 1897, p. 97. The incident is to be commemorated by the erection of the Sea Gull Monument now in process of building on Temple Square, Salt Lake City. See note I end of Chapter.

8. On August the 9th, the Council in the valley wrote: "Our wheat harvest is over, the grain is splendid and clean, but being mostly in shock and stack, we cannot state the number of bushels; however, we are all agreed that the wheat crop has done wonderfully well, considering all the circumstances, and that we can raise more and better wheat to the acre in this valley, than in any place any of us ever saw; and the same with all other grains, vegetables, etc., that we have tried. . . . Green peas have been so plentiful for a long time that we are becoming tired of them; cucumbers, squashes, beets, carrots, parsnips, and greens are upon our tables, as harbingers of abundance in their respective departments," etc. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 370). An excerpt from a letter of Parley P. Pratt's to his brother Orson says: "We are greatly blessed in gardens, in wheat, in corn, and in all things I have set my hands unto. I have raised some sixty bushels of good wheat without irrigation; a few bushels of rye and oats, and my corn in the field looks as well as any corn I ever saw in the States. The wheat crop has exceeded all expectation; oats do better than in the States—say sixty bushels to one of sowing on sod ground; every kind of vegetable suited to the northern latitude does well." (*Ibid.*).

"Such are the general extracts" (i. e. from letters) says Thomas Bullock, "which are abundantly confirmed by men who have lived in the valley; amongst other things, they report, that Elder Levi Hancock sowed eleven pounds weight of California wheat on the 14th of April, and reaped twenty-two bushels the latter part of July; he sowed half a bushel of English common wheat, on an acre and a half, and reaped upwards of twenty bushels; one grain of seven eared wheat produced seventy-two ears. Barley that was sowed, ripened and was reaped, and carried off,—the land then irrigated, and produced from the roots a fresh crop, four times the quantity of the first crop. Oats that were sown produced a good crop, were cut down and cleared, the roots again sprung up and produced a beautiful crop. Peas first planted, a good crop ripened, gathered; then planted this spring, produced beets as thick as my leg which went to seed and yielded a great quantity. Cabbage seed planted this spring, produced seed again." (*Ibid.*). In the same communication, Bullock reports 248 children born, by the 9th of August, 1848. (Letter of Thomas Bullock to Dr. Levi Richards in England, dated at the South Pass, Aug. 24th, 1848. *Mill. Star*, X, pp. 369-70).

9. A less enthusiastic report of this first harvest is to be found in an Epistle of the First Presidency's, written after their arrival in the valley, Oct. 1848. Their report of the harvest is as follows: "Most of their early crops were destroyed, in the month of May, by crickets and frost, which continued occasionally until June; while the latter harvest was injured by drought and frost, which commenced its injuries about the 10th of October, and by the out-breaking of herds of cattle. The brethren were not sufficiently numerous to fight the crickets, irrigate the crops, and fence the farm of their extensive planting, consequently they suffered heavy losses; though the experiment of last year is sufficient to prove that valuable crops may be raised in this valley by an attentive and judicious management." (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, 228).

accepted by all as a successful experiment, and demonstrated the feasibility of raising vegetables and grains, and perhaps fruit, of the temperate zones in the Salt Lake Valley.

A public "harvest feast" celebrated the ingathering of the first crop. It was held on the 10th of August, and there was food in abundance. "Large sheaves of wheat, rye, barley and other productions were hoisted on poles for public exhibition," writes Parley P. Pratt; "and there was prayer and thanksgiving, congratulations, songs, speeches, music, dancing, smiling faces and merry hearts. In short, it was a great day with the people of these valleys, and long to be remembered by those who had suffered and waited anxiously for the results of a first effort to redeem the interior deserts of America, and to make her hitherto unknown solitudes 'blossom as the rose' "¹⁰

Notwithstanding the fairly good harvest of 1848, the large increase in the population by the immigration of that year—amounting as we have already seen to about two thousand souls—kept the people upon short allowance of food and finally made necessary the repetition of putting the community on rations,¹¹ and those having plenty dividing with those who had little or nothing, and resorting again to the use of thistles and sego roots in the spring. The hardships of the colonists were also increased this year because of the severity of the winter.¹² Prices of grain were reported to be, corn two dollars per bushel; wheat from four to five dollars a bushel, "and little to be had at that."¹³

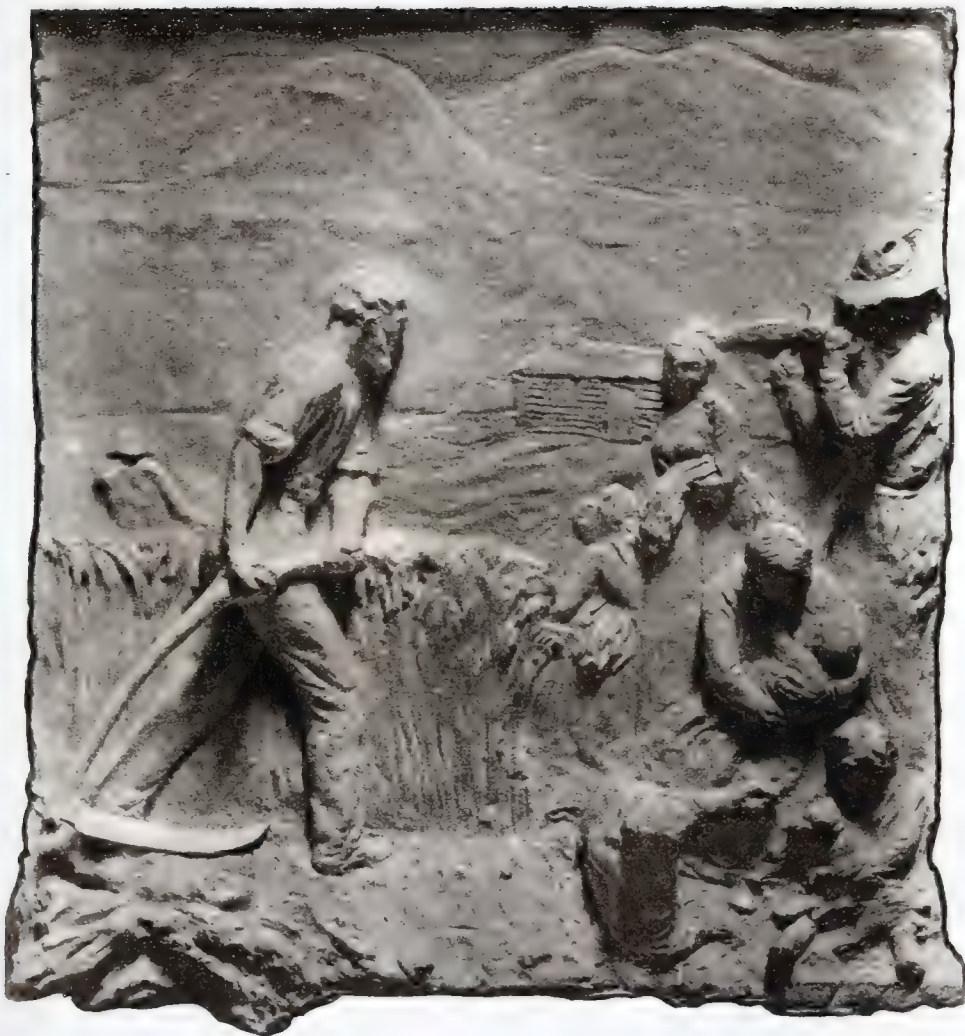
The second harvest was better than the first, the acreage

10. Autobiography Parley P. Pratt, p. 406, also Life of John Taylor, p. 199. Cannon mentions also "the firing of cannon, music and dancing and loud shouts of Hosannah to God and the Lamb, in which all present joined." Hist. Ch. *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

11. There is, however, at this time (March 9, 1849) a scarcity of breadstuffs, and there will be a scarcity till harvest which we hope for early in July." (Letter of "The Twelve in the Valley to Orson Pratt, under date of March 9th, 1849, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 244, et seq.). A census was taken in February and the amount of breadstuff computed which disclosed that there would be "upwards of three-fourths of a pound per head per day from then till harvest, besides fifteen hundred bushels of seed wheat, and several hundred bushels of corn." (*Ibid*).

12. "This winter has been a cold and snowy one, nearly equal to the climate of New York. The snow covered the ground to some depth, for nearly three months, and finally disappeared, from parts of the valley, the latter end of February; since that time cold winds have prevailed, and light snows are frequent, which disappear immediately; the ploughs are beginning to move." (*Ibid*, p. 245).

13. Letter of the Twelve to Orson Pratt, *Ibid*, p. 245.



The First Harvest of the Valley of the Nile 1844

greatly increased,¹⁴ and the injury from drought and frost much less, although there was a heavy fall of snow on the 23rd of May, followed the next day "by a severe frost."¹⁵ But notwithstanding the better harvest and the increased acreage brought under cultivation, the supply of breadstuff and other food supplies fell below the needs of the community because of the influx of population. The immigrating Saints in the year 1849, came in five companies, of about five hundred wagons, and 1,400 people; led by Elders Orson Spencer, Allen Taylor, Silas Richards, George A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson.¹⁶ But besides these companies of Saints, the "California gold seekers" began to arrive about the middle of July, "Since which time," writes the Presidency of the Church to Orson Hyde at Kanesville, "our peaceful valley has appeared like the half way house of the pilgrims to Mecca, and still they come and go, and probably will continue to do so till fall."¹⁷ And so indeed they did, and by thousands; but it is impossible to state the number with any assurance of accuracy.¹⁸ The numbers, however, were large

14. "Great preparations are being made for farming the coming season, and more than ten thousand acres will be enclosed and cultivated this summer." Letter of the Twelve to Orson Pratt. *Ibid*, p. 245.

15. General Epistle of the First Presidency "To the Saints Scattered Throughout the Earth." Oct. 12, 1849, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 118 *et seq.* The grain crops in the valley have been good this season; wheat, barley, oats, rye, and peas, more particularly. The late corn and buckwheat, and some lesser grains and vegetables, have been materially injured by the recent frosts; and some early corn at Brownsville, [i. e. Ogden] forty miles north, a month since; and the buckwheat was severely damaged by hail at the Utah settlement, sixty miles South about three weeks since; but we have great occasion for thanksgiving to Him who giveth the increase, that He has blest our labours, so that with prudence we shall have a comfortable supply for ourselves, and our brethren on the way, who may be in need, until another harvest."

16. Hist. Brigham Young Ms. Journal entry 19th October, 1849. "Captain Dan Jones with a goodly number of Welsh Saints were included in Geo. A. Smith's company. This company did not leave the Missouri until the 14th of July. (See *Frontier Guardian* July 25th, 1849); the result was they experienced inconvenience and suffering from cold in the mountains. On the 2nd of October when on the Sweet Water, west of the Rocky Ridge they were overtaken by a furious wind and snow storms which "continued through thirty-six hours. The snow drifted in every direction, in many places being three or four feet deep, and freezing on every thing it touched." A number of cattle perished from the cold, fifty-two in all, and some strayed away. Many pigs, chickens and even dogs perished in the storm. The cattle of these companies during the journey manifested a disposition to stampede on slightest provocation, and in one such instance a sister Hawk in Allen Taylor's Company was trampled to death. (History of Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, entry for 19th October, 1849. (See note 2 for description of a stampede by Geo. A. Smith).

17. Letter of the Presidency to Orson Hyde, dated July 20th, 1849, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 337-8.

18. Wilford Woodruff, writing from Cambridgeport, Mass., not from the scene of the event he refers to in Salt Lake Valley, but basing his assertions from

enough to be a source of anxiety to the leaders among the colonists. "Several hundred of the emigrants," writes President Young, on the 8th of October, "arrived too late in the season to continue their journey on the north route, and many of them contemplated wintering with us. So large an accession of mouths, in addition to those of our own emigration threatened almost a famine for bread."¹⁹

To relieve this situation, Jefferson Hunt, who had been Captain of Company "A" of the Mormon Battalion, proposed to guide California emigrants over the southern route that season, and thus avoid the danger of a rigorous winter journey over the Sierras. A company of about one hundred wagons accordingly formed and started southward with Captain Hunt as guide;²⁰ and with them went Elder Addison Pratt, returning to his mission in the Society Islands of the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by Elders James Brown and Hiram H. Blackwell. Elder Charles C. Rich also traveled in this company in order to join Elder Amasa M. Lyman in the Presidency of "Western California,"²¹

communications to New York and other eastern papers from west bound emigrants, writes: "Whether the Gentiles are coming to the light of Zion or not, from 15,000 to 20,000 have passed through their city this season after gold." He also states that about three thousand of the gold seekers stopped in the valley, "many of whom have been baptized." These roughly stated figures are doubtless too high for the number passing through Salt Lake City. Bancroft estimates the number of overland emigrants to California in the year 1849 as 42,000; of which 9,000 came from Mexico; 8,000 through New Mexico; *via* of Santa Fe, and 25,000 traveling *via* of South Pass, of whom, a large majority went *via* of Fort Hall, without passing through Salt Lake City. While undoubtedly the overland emigration of gold seekers across the American continent is one of the most remarkable events in the History of the United States, and of migratory movements in the world, yet there were very extravagant claims made respecting its numbers, as may be learned by any one who will consult the *data* collected in Bancroft's "History of California," Vol. VI, ch. IX.

19. Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, p. 140.

20. Near Beaver Creek, about 200 miles south of Salt Lake, the California Emigrants of Hunt's Company abandoned his leadership and went off with a "Captain Smith," in charge of a pack train bound for California who had maps and charts of "Walkers Cut off," and persuaded the California Emigrants to go that way. Hunt insisted that the route advocated by Smith was not a safe one; but all to no purpose; and by the time the company reached the "rim of the basin" the most of them withdrew from Hunt's leadership and followed Smith, leaving the former leader with a small company of but seven wagons. He, however, continued his journey and arrived near the coast on the 22nd of December: Most of those who took the "cut off," after wandering for a time in the mountains with very insufficient grass or water, turned back and followed the southern route. "Captain Smith and some others continued to struggle westward, and a few of them, after much suffering and disaster, arrived on foot in California." Hist. B. Y. Ms. Bk. 4, p. 167. Entry Dec. 22, 1849.

21. General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church Oct. 12, 1849, *Mill. Star*, XII, p. 119. Also Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk. 4, p. —, entry for Oct. 8th, '49.

to which place Elder Lyman had been sent to preside in the month of April of that year.

Notwithstanding this opportunity afforded the California emigrants to reach their destination, some concluded "to stay in the valley for the winter anyway," remarks President Young, "and a few of them embraced the gospel."²² Of those who thus accepted the faith of the Latter-day Saints both in this year, 1849, and the several years immediately following, the most of them doubtless, were really converted, and were honest people; but not a few of those who professed the faith did so merely to secure more surely and more abundantly—as they supposed—the hospitality of the Saints; which hospitality they sometimes abused and betrayed in the most shameful manner; from which circumstance arose the contemptuous term "*Winter Saints*," which "we understand to mean," wrote the editor of the *Deseret News*, "those who have been baptized just to have the privilege of serving the devil more perfectly, while they winter with the Saints, or thieve their way to the mines."²³

The transgressions of some of these "winter saints" brought on the "first jury trial" under the judiciary established by the provisional state government the colonists had founded. A special secession of the "Great Salt Lake county court" was called on the 3rd of January, 1851, before which some of these transient church members were tried and convicted of stealing, and sentenced to hard labor for various terms; but after serving part of their sentence they were pardoned by the executive, Brigham Young, and departed for California, "the place of their original destination."

"This was the first jury trial there had been in the state of Deseret [of which more in a subsequent chapter] since its organization," remarks Brigham Young, "and the first occasion for the empaneling of a grand jury. It is supposed that about three hundred emigrants who quartered in the valley the past winter, have left for the gold mines this spring. Many emi-

22. Brigham Young Hist. *Ms* Ibid. Also General Epistle of Presidency Mill. *Star*, XII, 118.

23. This on the 18th of January, 1851, on the occasion of a conference of seventies excommunicating eleven men and women *enblock*, "for conduct unbecoming the character of saints"; and to whom the President of the conference had applied the, by then, apropos title, "Winter Saints." One of the most reprehensible abuses

grants on arriving at this place heard the gospel, believed, and were baptized, and thus far proved their sincerity by their works; while some professed to believe and were baptized, but their works have made manifest their hypocrisy, and their sins remain on their own heads. Had it not been for such kind of characters, no jury would have been needed in Deseret to this day.”²⁴

The passing of this California emigration through Salt Lake Valley had both its beneficial and disastrous effects upon the Latter-day Saints colonies. In the first place, it brought to the settlements of the Saints very many earnest and sincere people who accepted the faith of the new dispensation of the gospel, and some equally respectable who did not accept that faith, but remained, nevertheless, to make their homes in Salt Lake City. Both these classes became permanent and desirable elements in the then forming civil society. But there were also bad and lawless elements in that migrating host, some of whom became the “winter saints” of preceding paragraphs, and some who did not, but yet remained in the Salt Lake Valley to vitiate society, corrupt community life, and give a dash of lawlessness to the times, from which circumstance the reputation of the Latter-day Saints suffered not a little, for that they were held responsible for all that happened of a lawless or disreputable nature in their community.

The Saints also gained and lost through the reports that were sent to the east by those in the migrating hosts who chose to

of hospitality referred to above was that of winter bound gold seekers marrying young women only to desert them in the spring; and so often did this happen that it was the cause of much bitterness in those early years, and of suspicion long years afterwards towards transients and emigrants passing through the territory.

24. General Epistle of the Presidency, of Apl. 7th, 1851. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, p. 212. In the same epistle the Presidency of the Church sought to lessen the burdens of the Salt Lake Colony by recommending that the California emigrants go *via* of Fort Hall. Salt Lake City had recently obtained its charter and proposed to make provision against the inconveniences occasioned by trespasses of the California emigrants. The Epistle said: “Hitherto, California emigrants have been accustomed to leave their sick on our hands, at a heavy expense, and depart without notice; to turn their teams loose in our streets, and near our city, which has caused much destruction of crops and grass, so that if we wanted a load of hay, we have had to go from ten to twenty miles to procure it, and drive our cattle a still greater distance to herd the succeeding winter; but since the organization of a municipality, quarantine has been introduced, and no animals are permitted to roam within the corporation, which extends to some six or eight miles square; and when the surrounding lands are fenced, the accommodations in our immediate vicinity, for those who travel by multitudes, will be small indeed; and we believe it will be more convenient for the great mass of travellers to the mines to go by Fort Hall, or



Group of the oxen and the figures

furnish the press with their descriptions and impressions of the Mormon settlements and their people. In some cases they were inordinately praised, and their achievements exaggerated; and by others as severely censured, misjudged and condemned; until in the annals of those times the fanatical saints of today, and the bitterly prejudiced anti-Mormons, can each find material in support of his unstinted praise or bitter denunciation.²⁵

Even on the side on which the passing migration is supposed to have been, and was, the most beneficial—its contribution to the material prosperity of the Saints—it had its drawbacks since it created restlessness among the people, delayed the plans of colonizing adjacent valleys, and made it more difficulty for the church authorities to hold the people to the achievement of those purposes to which the Church was consecrated, *viz*, (1) the proclamation of the gospel to every nation, tongue and people under the whole heavens; (2) perfecting the lives of those who accepted her message, to this end gathering together her converts.

In the mad rush of the world for the goldfields, one of the main streams of which was passing through their settlements, it is one of the marvels of those times, and will be in all time to come, that the Latter-day Saints could be held to those ideals of their faith which led them in large measure to give no heed to the madness for riches which possessed those thousands of emigrants who passed through their settlements, and derided their contentment with the humble lot of pioneering settlements in a semi-desert region, when the rich gold fields of California were so near to them, and of such easy access. Besides their brethren, people of their own faith had been prominent factors in both the discovery and early development of the gold mines—why not participate in the harvest to which all the world was hastening?

Brigham Young and his associate leaders in the Church of the Latter-day Saints rose to sublime heights in those days. Under date of September 28th, 1849, the following is recorded in his journal History: "Fourteen or fifteen of the brethren ar-

some route north of this, saving to themselves the expense and hindrance of quarantine, and other inconveniences arising from a temporary location near a populous city, where cattle are not permitted to run at large."

25. See note 3, end of chapter.

rived from the gold country, some of whom were very comfortably supplied with the precious metal, and others, who had been sick, came back as destitute as they went on the ship *Brooklyn* in 1846. That there is plenty of gold in western California is beyond doubt, but the valley of the Sacramento is an unhealthy place, and the Saints can be better employed in raising grain and building houses in this vicinity, than in digging gold in Sacramento, unless they are counseled so to do."

"The true use of gold," he adds, "is for paving streets, covering houses and making culinary dishes; and when the Saints shall have preached the gospel, raised grain, and built up cities enough; the Lord will open up the way for a supply of gold to the perfect satisfaction of his people; until then, let them not be over anxious, for the treasures of the earth are in the Lord's store house, and he will open the doors thereof when and where he pleases."²⁶

And to this view Brigham Young and his associate leaders in the Church adhered throughout the gold-fever period, and held their people to the higher duties of their lives as Latter-day Saints. Under date of March 9th, 1849, "The Twelve in Salt Lake Valley to the Saints in the British Isles," said: "There are some rebellious and disorderly spirits here, who are generally now for the gold mines instead of Warsaw, Quincy, and St. Louis; but those who are on the Lord's side will stay at home and raise grain, etc., until sent abroad on heaven's errand," (i. e. to preach the gospel).²⁷

In 1850 referring to the maintenance of an emigration fund to assist the poor in the world to gather to the Church, in the mountains, President Young said:

"I am going to bring before the people the necessity of keeping up the fund for the emigration of the poor. I declare openly and boldly, there is no necessity for any man of this community to go to the gold mines, to replenish the fund; we have more property and wealth than we are capable of taking care of. If a man is not capable of improving one talent, what is the use of his getting more? He is like the foolish child, that could hold but one apple in both his hands, and in reaching for more, he

26. Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk. 4, p. 144, add.

27. *Mill Star*, Vol. XI, p. 246.

lost what he had. If men only knew how to control what they have and were satisfied, they would do much better.

"I will commence at the north and go to the south settlements, and pick out 25 of our inhabitants as they average; and another man may take 50 of the gold diggers, off hand, and they cannot buy out the 25 who have tarried at home. Before I had been one year in this place, the wealthiest man who came from the mines, Father Rhodes, with 17,000 dollars, could not buy the possessions I had made in one year! It will not begin to do it; and I will take 25 men in the United States, who have staid at home and paid attention to their own business, and they will weigh down fifty others from the same place, who went to the gold regions; and again, look at the widows that have been made, and see the bones that lie bleaching and scattered over the prairies!"²⁸

So the President continued through the troubled years of the gold fever to encourage and admonish his people to stay at home and be attentive to their work of building up "the kingdom of God," wherein dwelleth righteousness.

As already remarked the most beneficial effect this migration to California's gold fields had upon the affairs of the Mormon colonists was its contribution to the material prosperity of the saints. In a public meeting at Salt Lake City, in 1848, in the midst of a great scarcity of food and clothing, and indeed of all the necessities of life, Elder Heber C. Kimball startled the congregation by declaring that within a short time "states goods" would be sold in the streets of Salt Lake City cheaper than in New York, and that the people could be abundantly supplied with food and clothing." "I don't believe a word of it," said Elder Charles C. Rich, who was present on the occasion; "and he but voiced the sentiment of nine-tenths of those who heard the astounding declaration," remarks Elder Kimball's biographer.²⁹ Even Elder Kimball himself doubted of the fulfillment of his own prediction, and as he took his seat remarked to the brethren about him that he was "afraid he had missed it this time." "But they were not his own words" writes his biographer, "and he who had inspired them knew how to fulfill."³⁰

28. Minutes of the General Conference. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, pp. 17, 18.

29. His Grandson, Orson F. Whitney, now one of the Twelve Apostles.

30. Life of Heber C. Kimball-Whitney—Ch. LVII, also Tullidge's Life of Brigham Young, pp. 203-8.

The prediction was fulfilled in a most remarkable manner. Many of the overland gold seekers of '49 conceived the idea that there would be a big demand for merchandize in the gold fields of California, and therefore loaded their wagons to capacity limit with various kinds of merchandize to be sold, as they hoped, at enormous profits. In some cases the teams were so heavily loaded with merchandize that the men walked and even women and children could not find room in the wagons.³¹ A merchandize such as was supposed would be in demand in the number of St. Louis merchants fitted out whole trains laden with mining camps. The overland journey, however, was attended with more difficulties than was anticipated, and the progress much slower. A few weeks on the journey and property began to be sacrificed to haste. What was the profit in a load of merchandize in comparison of the profits in rich gold diggings if one were only there? And so there were frequent loadings and re-loadings, usually attended by a sacrifice of some portion of the owner's effects. When a heavy laden wagon would break down it was often left in the road where it stood; teams weakening, a wagon would now and then be abandon and the teams doubled on other wagons to make more haste, until the overland trail was literally strewn with merchandize and broken down and abandoned wagons, for hundreds of miles.³² In addition to these circumstances by the time some of these wagon trains reached Salt Lake City word was received of ships loaded with merchandize arriving in the Bay of San Francisco; also that coast-wise vessels were plying between the Isthmus of Panama and San

31. "Heavy conveyances were provided with three yoke of oxen, besides relays of animals for difficult passages; a needful precaution; for California as well as the intermediate country, being regarded as a wilderness, the prudent ones had brought ample supplies, some indeed, in excess, to last for two years. Others carried all sorts of merchandise, in the illusive hope of sales at large profits. Consequently such of the men as had not riding animals were compelled to walk, and during the first part of the journey even the women and children could not always find room in the wagons." Bancroft's California, Vol. VI, p. 145.

32. See *Frontier Guardian* of Sept. 15, 1849. In a letter to Orson Pratt Wilford Woodruff says: "The last accounts from the gold diggers was that there were 500 wagons between South Pass and Fort Hall entirely helpless; all their teams having been drowned in crossing streams, or died for want of grass. Hundreds were then dying daily, and the road near blocked up at some passes with broken down wagons and teams, and the men had become mad because they could not get by or go ahead; they were fighting and killing each other. An express had been sent from Fort Hall for assistance to gather the destitute into the valley of the Great Salt Lake, as they must die if they had not help." The letter is dated at Cambridgeport, Mass., October 13th, 1849, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 344. See also Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI, ch. IX.



1000.10 - 1000.11 - 1000.12 - 1000.13 - 1000.14 - 1000.15

Francisco, carrying goods that were shipped by pack trains across the isthmus by companies organized in New York, Charleston, and New Orleans,³³ which dispelled the dreams of the overland merchants of fabulous prices. Moreover, in Salt Lake city gold dust from the California mines was current in trade and on exhibition,³⁴ and this in connection with the other circumstances mentioned, so increased the enthusiasm of the gold seekers, and their impatience to reach California, that they were ready to dispose of all they had for fresh stock with which to make the journey. "Pack mules and horses," says one account, "that were worth twenty-five or thirty dollars in ordinary times, would readily bring two hundred dollars in the most valuable property at the lowest prices. Goods and other property were daily offered at auction in all parts of the city. For a light, Yankee wagon, sometimes three or four great heavy ones would be offered in exchange, and a yoke of oxen thrown in at that. Common domestic sheeting sold from five to ten cents per yard by the bolt. The best of spades and shovels for fifty cents each. Vests that cost in St. Louis one dollar and fifty cents each, were sold at Salt Lake for 'three bits,' or 37 1-2 cents. Full chests of joiners' tools that would cost \$150 in the east, were sold in that place for \$25. Indeed, almost every article, except sugar and coffee, is selling on an average, fifty per cent below wholesale prices in the eastern cities."³⁵

Still another account says:

"The emigrants the past summer brought many things with

33. There was a great rush of vessels from eastern and southern ports in the United States, *via* of Cape Horn, also across Panama, Nicaragua, and Mexico by pack trains to resume the water journey on the Pacific side by waiting vessels to make the coast-wise journey. In November the movement began by the departure of several vessels. In December it had swelled to a rush. Between the 14th of December, 1848, and the 14th of January, 1849, sixty-one sailing vessels left New York. Sixty more in February, besides the vessels that left other ports. Two of the November, 1848, vessels arrived at San Francisco in April, 1849; in June eleven arrived; in July forty; in August forty-three; in September, sixty-six; "After which the number fell off, giving a total of 233 from American ports; 316 vessels arrived from other ports, or 549 in all" for the year 1849." Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI, pp. 121-2 and notes.

34. "When they saw a few bags and kegs of gold dust that had been gathered and brought in by our boys [i. e., Mormon Battalion men] it made them completely enthusiastic." Orson Hyde in *Frontier Guardian*, Sept. 15, 1849.

35. *Frontier Guardian*, Sept. 15, 1849, also *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 340, *et seq.* Bancroft in his History of California makes mention of this incident: "Many, indeed, tired and discouraged, with animals thinned in number and exhausted, halted at Great Salt Lake, accepting the invitation of the Mormons to stay through the

them which they found to be superfluous upon their arrival at the valley, and were glad to give them in exchange for horses, oxen, etc., besides there were many small merchants who brought from two to ten thousand dollars worth of goods with them who found it indispensably necessary to sell out in the valley, owing to the loss of teams, and pack from thence to the mines. The *Messrs.* Pomeroy of Missouri, with about fifty thousand dollars worth were of the number who found it impractical to proceed."³⁶

This unlooked for arrival and sacrifice of goods in such abundance was certainly a fulfillment of Elder Kimball's prediction, and of material benefit to the Latter-Day Saints colonists. It relieved them of many hardships, contributed to their progress, and hastened the development of the country in the eastern valleys of the Great Basin beyond all expectation.

NOTE 1. THE SEA GULL MONUMENT ON TEMPLE SQUARE SALT LAKE CITY: "The Sea Gull Monument" now in course of erection on Temple square is the work of Mahonri Young, a grandson of the great pioneer, Brigham Young. Mr. Young has studied abroad, is Associate member of the National Academy of Design in New York; also a member of the Architectural League of New York. The Sea Gull Monument is to be the most ambitious work Mr. Young, up to the present, has undertaken.

On a deep foundation will be raised a high square base, forming a drinking fountain, approached by native granite steps; and from this base will rise a graceful Corinthian column fifteen feet high, surmounted by a granite sphere, and this topped by a group of gulls in the act of lighting upon it—a most grace-

winter and recuperate. The Saints undoubtedly reaped a harvest in cheap labor, and by the ready exchange of provisions to starving emigrants for wagons, tools, clothing, and other effects, greatly to the delight of the leaders, who, at the first sight of gold from California, had prophesied plenty, and the sale of States goods at prices as low as in the east." (*Hist. Cal.*, Vol. VI, pp. 151-2.) In a foot note he names Kimball as having made the prediction.

36. Letter of John Taylor to the *Frontier Guardian* of Jan. 9, 1850. Elder Taylor calls attention to the fact that the goods destined for California, but disposed of in Salt Lake City, as described above, were largely men's ware, so far as clothing was concerned, and that the disposal of these goods did not prevent "Messrs. Livingston and Kinkade of St. Louis; Col. John Reese of New York and other merchants who were carrying goods laid in especially for the "Valley," from disposing of the goods and at "large profits." "So much so," he adds in addressing the editor, of the *Guardian*, "that if you had been at Deseret (i. e. The Honey Bee State, Utah) you would have thought the ladies were bees and their stores the hives—though unlike in one respect, for the bee goes in full and comes out empty, but in this case it was reversed."

ful thing in itself, and Mr. Young has caught the action of it to the life. The capitol of the column is made up of sheaves of wheat, in place of the *acanthus* stem and leaves seen in the antique Corinthian columns, and at each of the corners a gull in flight, the out-stretched wings of which join the wings of his fellow, and, canoping the wheat sheaves, suggest the idea of protection.

On three sides of the high base in relief sculpture the rest of the Sea Gull story is told:

The first tablet tells of the arrival and early movements of the Pioneers. In the left foreground of the rugged Wasatch mountains, there is the man afield with ox-team plowing the stubborn soil, followed by the sower. Dimly seen in the background is the half finished log home, and to the left of this the incoming mounted guard or local explorer. In the left foreground is the wagon-home, women preparing the humble meal, a lad "toting" his armful of fuel, while an Indian sits in idle but graceful pose looking upon all this strange activity that is to redeem his land from savagery and give it a commonwealth to civilization.

The second tablet tells the story of the threatened devastation from the crickets' invasion. A point of mountain and a glimpse of the placid, distant lake are seen. The farmer's fight with the invading pest is ended—he has exhausted all his ingenuity in the fight, and his strength. He is beaten—you can see that in the hopeless sinking of his figure to earth, his bowed head and listless, down-hanging hands from which the spade has fallen. Despair claims him—and laughs. With the woman of this tablet it is different. She is holding a child by the hand—through it she feels throbbing the call of the future—the manhood-life yet to be. Strange that to woman—man's helpmeet—is given such superior strength in hours of severest trial! Where man's strength and courage and fighting ends, woman's hope and faith and trust seem to spring into newness of life. From her nature she seems able to do this inconsistent yet true thing—to hope against hope, and ask till she receives. So now this woman of the second tablet—she too is toil-worn, and there is something truly pathetic in her body weariness, but her head is raised. Raised to what until now has seemed the pitiless skies; but now they are filled with the on-coming flocks of sea gulls. Does she watch their coming with merely idle curiosity or vague wonderment? Or does her soul in the strange gull-cry hear God's answer to her call for help? God's answer to her they were, these gulls, in any event, as the gulls soon proved.

The third tablet commemorates the Pioneers' first har-

vest,—worthily too! In the background rises Ensign Peak. In the middle background the log-house home stands finished; in the foreground grain harvest is in progress; both men and women take joyous part. To the right a mother half kneeling holds to her breast a babe, who “on the heart and from the heart” receives his nourishment, and about her knees two other children play in happy, childish oblivion of toil or care. O, happy scene of life and joy, “where Plenty leaps to laughing life with his redundant horn!”

The fourth tablet is reserved for the title of the monument.

NOTE 2. A STAMPEDE ON THE PLAINS: These days of the late “forties” and early “fifties” represent rare times, and every scrap of personal experience in those already strange scenes and incidents is valuable, especially when personally related by those participating in them. Because of this I give here the description of a stampede on the plains, by George A. Smith who witnessed a number of them, and whose pen picture of the thing is perhaps as vivid as one may hope to find: “No one that has not witnessed a stampede of cattle on these plains, has any idea of the terrors, and dangers, and losses sometimes that accompany them. Contemplate a camp of 50 or 100 wagons all corraled, with about 1000 head of cattle, oxen, steers, cows, etc., with some 3 to 500 souls, consisting of men, women, and children, all wrapt in midnight slumber, with every prospect of peace and quietness when they retired to rest in their wagons under their frail canvas covering, with the guards pacing their several rounds, crying the hour of night, etc.; when all of a sudden, a roar equal to distant thunder, which causes the ground to shake, is heard; the bellowing and roaring of furious, maddened, and frightened cattle, with the cracking of yokes, breaking of guards or anything else that is not invulnerable to them. Hear the guard cry out, “a stampede! a stampede! Every man in camp turn out.” Horses are mounted, and through the storm and darkness of the night, with the rifle in hand, the roar and sound of the cattle are followed; sometimes rivers are crossed and hundreds of cattle are lost; but if success attend, in an hour or two, sometimes longer, they are brought back, but not quieted, to where the women and children, frightened at being roused from slumber by such terrific noise, had been left with armed guards to protect them from the Indians, who roam over these plains in countless numbers, merely in quest of plunder and perhaps had been the cause of frightening the cattle and causing the stampede; such, in brief, is a stampede; but it must be witnessed to be realized.”

NOTE 3. TREATMENT OF CALIFORNIA EMIGRANTS BY MORMONS: A SLANDER REFUTED: The following document drawn up by the leaders of the first companies of the "gold seekers" to pass through Salt Lake City—arriving there on the 16th of June—will illustrate in part the statement of the text respecting misrepresentations that some times obtained against the Saints. It is taken from the History of Brigham Young Ms., under his journal entry of June 24, and which he introduces as follows:

"I introduce the following testimony concerning the treatment of emigrants to California by the people in the valley:—

"G. S. L. City, June 25, 1849.

"This is to certify that we, the undersigned, members of the Delaware Mining Company, from Ohio, when passing by the South side of the Platt river, met Jacques Rouvel Brunnette, a resident of Fort Laramie, about 180 miles east of his said fort, who informed us that the Mormons had instigated the Indians to be unfriendly to all emigrants on the south side of said river, and that they were bad men. But we found the Indians friendly, and we firmly believed his statement to be false; and as he said he should report it to government, we sign this in favor of the Mormons in Salt Lake Valley, from whom we have received universal kind treatment.

"Andrew McIlvain

"L. B. Harris

"Daniel Plotmer

"A. G. Hinton

"James A. Barnes

"Simpson Laid

"Joshua D. Breyfogle

"Josephus McClead

"John C. Murphey

"Simeon Badly

"Israel Brefogel

"R. Cadwalader

"Samuel High.

P. Knight Gualt

A. C. Moses

E. D. Coldren

E. R. Moses

James Hinkle

James Edelman

Evan Evans

Jed L. Allen

John F. Stimmel

Daniel A. High

Irwin Boynton

Robert Cunningham."

The Weather Superstitions of the Poets

BY W. REDMOND KEEGAN

THE poets, like the sailors, are weatherwise. The sailor watches the rising and setting of the sun and from it tells what the weather will be to-morrow. The poet writes a poetic forecast that is eclipsed by nothing unless it be by the rheumatic prophet who with the convenient, but not pleasant barometer within, predicts the approach of rain by the twinges of pain.

In the old ballad of "Sir Patrick Spence," we find a poet who was weatherwise, as we see by the following stanzas:—

"Late, late yestere'en, I saw the new moon
With the old moon in her arm;
And I fear, I fear, my master deer,
That we will come to harm."

The old sailors' anticipation of the storm is well founded and the storm is followed by shipwreck, in which Sir Patrick Spence and his crew are lost:—

"Have owre, have owre, to Aberdour,
It is fifty fathoms deeps,
And there lies good Sir Patrick Spence
With the Scot's lords at his feet."

A similar scene and almost parallel passages occur in Longfellow's "Wreck of the Hesperus," but in the latter poem it is a halo round the moon that excites the old sailor's alarm:—

“Then up and spake an old Sailor,
Who had sailed the Spanish main,
I pray thee put into yonder port,
For I fear a hurricane.

“Last night the moon had a golden ring,
And to-night no moon we see!
The skipper he blew a whiff from his pipe
And a scornful laugh laughed he.”

A halo round the moon is one of the surest prognostics of rainy or unsettled weather. It is, as a rule, always stormy and rainy when that condition prevails.

Scientific men have tried, but in vain, to convince people that the weather is not influenced by the time marked by the change of the moon. The contrary opinion, however, is so deeply rooted in the popular mind that an encyclopedia of science hurled at the heads of wiseacres would not dislodge it.

Our forefathers believed in the old saw:

“A Saturday’s moon if it comes once in seven years comes too soon.”

We, of to-day, like our forefathers, believe in the old saying:

“A dry summer never makes a deer pack.”

The belief is general in England, Ireland and Scotland, that if the oak tree comes into leaf before the ash that a dry summer is bound to follow, this was last verified in Ireland in the summer of 1908:

“If buds the ash before the oak
You’ll surely have a summer’s soak,
But if the oak before the ash is
You’ll only have a few light splashes.”

Here, as in the British Isles, it is an ominous sign to hear thunder in the winter. Such a phenomenon occurred last Jan-

uary when we heard the great thunderstorms breaking over New York. Many believed that a warm summer was about to burst upon us and were greatly disappointed that it did not come.

“A winter’s thunder,
A summer’s wonder.”

The legend of St. Swithin and how he sailed about after his death in a stone coffin has faded into a haze; but we cannot forget so readily the strong influence he has subsequently exercised over the weather.

“If St. Swithin weep, that year the proverb says,
The weather will be foul for forty days.”

Very similar in scope is the following, and it partly confirms whatever modicum of truth may exist in the proverb about St. Swithin’s day:—

“If the first of July it be rainy weather,
’Twill rain more or less for four weeks together.”

But the poets do not stop at weather prophesy in poetic fashion. They also tell us that climatic conditions have a lot to do with the future happiness of a bride and bridegroom. They have taught us to believe that sunshine on a wedding morning is a certain omen of a happy life, but the second line of the following stanza is more difficult to verify:

“Happy is the bride that the sun shines on
And the corpse that the rain rains on.”

Coming to the influence of weather over agricultural affairs, the belief is general that a winter with plenty of frost and snow exercises a fertilizing influence on the land, and is more likely to be followed by a warm summer than if the winter were of a milder character. This belief may have currency in the following short saying:

“A snow year, a rich year.”

The distrust of a mild winter promoting unseasonable vegetation is deeply stamped on the agricultural mind in all parts of the world.

“If grass looks green in Janiveer
’Twill look the worser all the year.”

In the British Isles the inhabitants believe that.

“A green Christmas,
Makes a fat churchyard.”

They also have an old saying in reference to consumptives:

“March will search, April will try
But May will tell whether you live or die.”

The influence of dry, frosty winds though unfavorable to vegetation, is of great value in drying the soil from the superabundant moisture. Indeed, much of the subsequent fertility of the soil is ensured by the drying process except when, as Hodge assures us:

“A bushel of March dust is worth a King’s ransom.”

Heavy rains, falling about seed-time, exert an injurious influence over future crops in two ways. They beat the soil together, thereby excluding the air, which must circulate below it if the seed is to germinate. They also carry the heat, or warmth, out of the soil through the process of evaporation, for a considerable amount of heat must leave the soil in raising every pound of water into the air. Accordingly every farmer will thoroughly endorse the old rhyming proverb:—

“A May flood
Never did good.”

Glowing sunshine and intense heat in July and August have the effect of ripening grain before the ear is well filled, in consequence of which the sample turns out deficient in plumpness and weight. Thus the farmer-poet says:

“A shower in July, when the corn begins to fill
Is worth a yoke of oxen and all belongs there still.”

The various shapes that the clouds assume have been labelled by science. The rain-giving clouds generally belong to the nimbus or cumulus order, but no matter how threatening the clouds appear, if the atmosphere is not in a condition to promote condensation, they are carried away by the winds. Hundreds of tons of water in vapoury suspension will thus pass over our heads in a single day and not a drop will fall when the atmosphere is light and elastic. At other times we are drenched by a fast-increasing cloud that rose on the horizon not larger than a clothes basket. But the clouds are generally accompanied by a number of appearances which tell us whether to expect rain or fine weather. For this we have the old authority:

“An evening’s red and a morning gray
Are the signs of a pleasant day.”

Morning clouds streaked or barred with red, no matter how high they float are always accepted as indicating rain and storm. Byron’s lines, in this connection, are worth remembering:

“Crimson as the clouds of morn
Which, streaked with dusty red, portend
The day shall have a stormy end.”

In changeable weather, a gray morning is a surer sign of a fair day than a bright one:

“Sun at seven
Rain at eleven.”

We can well understand the poet when in his prophetic state he writes:

“The soot falls down, the tables crack,
Old Belly’s joints are on the rack.”

But we cannot understand the sailor or poet when we read the well-known rhyme:

“A rainbow in the morning
Is the shepherd’s warning:
A rainbow at night
Is the sailor’s delight.”

Historic Views and Reviews

GENERAL KEARNY'S BODY IN NEW GRAVE

After fifty years in the historic graveyard of Trinity Church, New York, the body of General Philip Kearny, of civil war fame, has been removed from the family vault in Trinity churchyard, and after exercises in City Hall, was transferred with a military escort to the National Cemetery in Arlington, D. C. The removal of the body was the outcome of the efforts of the First Volunteer Brigade of New Jersey, "Kearny's Own," which resulted in the Legislature of that State appropriating \$5,000 and the appointment of a commission to carry out the provisions of the act. Guards of honor were provided by the United States Army, the National Guards of New Jersey and New York and the Philip Kearny Post, G. A. R.



HISTORIC BELL RESTORED

The bell of the Mission San Bernardino, the only relic in existence of one of the first great outposts of Franciscan civilization in California, is to be removed from its present resting place in the Glenwood Inn, Riverside, to the New Mission Theatre in San Gabriel.

The bell is to be used to sound the half and quarter hours and will be mounted in front of the theatre. This is the centenary of the bell's active service and the hundred and twelfth years of its existence. It was first set up in San Gabriel, to which it is to return, and was later sent to San Bernardino, when a band of venturesome and fearless priests, in the Spring of 1812, founded a mission there.

OWNS HISTORIC WEAPON

The death of Mrs. Mary Gibson, of Charlestown, mother of George H. D. Gibson, a well-known lawyer and former member of the Indiana House of Representatives, brought to light the fact that the latter owns the revolver with which General Jefferson C. Davis shot and killed General Nelson at the Galt House in Louisville, in the early days of the Civil War.

The revolver was the property of Thomas Ware Gibson, who was a personal friend of General Davis, and who loaned him the weapon.

The elder Gibson fought in the Mexican War as captain of Company I, Third Indiana Volunteers, and Mrs. Gibson's father, Amos Goodwin, was a captain during the Tippecanoe War.



BIDS FOR VALLEY FORGE MEMORIAL

Bids for the monument to be erected on the Revolutionary Camp ground at Valley Forge, Pa., in memory of the New Jersey troops quartered there under General Washington, were opened at the State House recently by the Valley Forge Revolutionary Encampment commission. Five bids were submitted and all of them were within the \$5,000 appropriated by the last legislature for the erection of the monument. The contract was not awarded, however, as the commissioners wish to give the bids further consideration. The awarding of the contract was layed over for a meeting to be held within the next two weeks at the call of the President.

The commission decided to lay the corner stone of the monument on Friday, October 4, the anniversary of the battle of Germantown, in which the New Jersey Continentals took a leading part. Also, it was decided that the monument should be unveiled and dedicated with fitting ceremonies on June 18, 1913, the 135th anniversary of the evacuation of the Valley Forge camp by the New Jersey soldiers. It is expected that the President of the United States, the governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania and other notables will take part in the dedication exercises.

Designs for the monument were submitted with the bids. One design which found considerable favor with the commission showed a granite base on which stood a continental soldier in a characteristic attitude.

The members of the commission are: John H. Fort, of Camden, president; James L. Pennypacker, of Haddonfield, secretary; A. J. Demarest, of Hoboken, treasurer; General J. Madison Drake, of Elizabeth, of "Drake's Zouaves" fame, and David P. Milford, of Bridgeton.



THE NEW JERSEY TROOPS

The New Jersey continental troops for whom the monument will be a memorial was Maxwell's brigade, which is referred to in several historical works as the "Jersey Line." The brigade distinguished itself at the battle of Germantown October 4, 1777, and went into winter headquarters at Valley Forge with the rest of Washinton's army of December 17, 1777. Speaking of this event, Fiske, in his work "The American Revolution," says: "As the poor soldiers marched to their winter quarters their route could be traced on the snow by the blood that oozed from bare, frost-bitten feet." The terrible privations endured by the soldiers at Valley Forge, and which the monument to be erected will bear testimony as far as the New Jersey troops are concerned, is shown by the communication sent to congress by General Washington in which he stated that he had in camp 2,898 men "unfit for duty because they are barefoot, and otherwise naked." This condition continued throughout all the winter which was bitterly cold.

Many of the New Jersey continentals will be a special memorial for these. On the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, June 18, 1778, Maxwell's brigade was detached from the main army and was sent to harass and impede General Clinton's forces through the Jerseys, on the way towards New York.

Following all they had endured at Valley Forge, the Jersey soldiers crossed the Delaware in advance of Washington's main army and after annoying the British troops all they could participated in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

STAGE DRIVERS DISAPPEARING

One of the most picturesque features of pioneer days in America was the old stage driver and his Concord stage. The stage itself has long since passed with the coming of the railway locomotive, but a few of the old drivers, who so skilfully handled the four and six horse teams, may still be found in the secluded places.

Not far from the mouth of the famous Royal Gorge, and within a few steps of the roaring waters of the Arkansas River, lives Lewis M. Hill, whose career as a stage driver is perhaps unequaled in America.

For forty years Hill drove stage continually, and although having many narrow escapes from death by Indians, robbers and storms, he was never the victim of a serious accident and never failed to deliver his passengers and the Government mail in safety.

Although eighty-one years of age, Hill is yet hale and hearty, and his wife, to whom he has been married for fifty-nine years, still lives with him in their little cottage surrounded by trees and vines.

Hill has driven stage in not fewer than nine States of the Union and an aggregate of about 500,000 miles, or a distance equal to twenty times around the earth at its largest circumference.

Sixty-one years ago last February Hill made his first stage trip, driving over the old national road from Terre Haute, Ind., to St. Louis, Mo.

In the second year of his employment, or fifty-nine years ago, at one of the little stations on his route, Greenup, Ill., he married Amy Elmira Shepler. She has been his constant companion ever since. During all the years of his life as stage driver she had charge of a station where the passengers were lodged and boarded while he drove the stage.

Later the railroads put traffic on the national road out of business, and Hill moved to Iowa. There for four years he drove a route out of Ottumwa, and then went to Omaha. For three years he drove from Omaha to Fort Kearney.

In 1862 Hill was put on the great Overland route, which, starting from Atchison, Kan., followed the north branch of the Platte River to the mountains, crossed the South pass and went on by way of Salt Lake City to Sacramento, Cal.

The stations on the Overland were fifty miles apart. Each driver drove fifty miles one day and back the next.

At that time Hill had a station beginning at the present site of Julesburg, Col. At that time Denver was just starting and Hill says that many a time he has camped with the freighters under the cottonwood trees in a corral or stockade built about where the union station now stands.

Hill's last experience at stage driving was in 1894, from Boulder to Ward.

In 1893 he drove a Concord stage and six horses at the World's Fair at Chicago.



NEW HISTORY MUSEUM FOR NEW YORK

With the view of establishing a museum of local history in the Isham mansion, in Isham Park, recently given to the city of New York by Mrs. Julia Isham Taylor and her aunt, Miss Flora E. Isham, Charles B. Stover, Commissioner of Parks, has offered rooms to historical and patriotic societies that may wish to send collections there. Two such organizations, the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, of which Dr. George F. Kunz, of No. 601 West 110th street, is president, and the City History Club, at the head of which are Mrs. Robert Abbe, of No. 13 West Fiftieth street, and Mrs. Emil L. Boas, of No. 128 West Seventy-fourth street, have already accepted.

The eight acres of land covered by the park, between Broadway and Inwood Hill, is associated with many historical events. That it was a favorite haunt of the local Indian tribe, the Week-quaskeeks, is shown by many relics, evidences of their existence there.

In the War of the Revolution, the Hessian troops erected two redoubts on the crest of Isham Hill, and the entire Hessian division of the British army moved over the park area in the assault

on Fort Washington on November 16, 1776. In the wall of the park entrance is the twelfth milestone on the old Kingsbridge road, placed there for preservation by the late William B. Isham, who occupied the house. The stone originally stood three-fourths of a mile south of its present site. It was moved northward to the side of the road, opposite its present location, about 1819, when the site of the present City Hall was made the point from which distances were measured.

Reginald P. Bolton, of No. 368 West 158th street, a trustee of the Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, has a large number of the relics, found on the northern end of Manhattan Island, which will form a nucleus for the proposed collection. The Daughters of the American Revolution will also contribute articles of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods.

Besides the rooms devoted to the collections of societies, Mr. Stover intends to have in the building rest and refreshment rooms for the public, and an assembly room, suitable for the meetings of the civic organizations of the neighborhood.



HISTORIC PAINTINGS IN THE CAPITOL

Among the most interesting features of the Capitol at Washington are the numerous paintings of departed statesmen and events of importance in our National history. In the wide gallery back of the House of Representatives are portraits of the various Speakers of the House. The likeness of each Speaker is hung in this hall of fame upon his retirement from office.

With a peculiarly reminiscent and yet pleasant smile Uncle Joe Cannon glanced up at the portraits of some of his predecessors a few days ago and remarked: "I wonder if it was right to wait so long to hang some of them."

The portrait of every Speaker can be found there, with but one exception. The missing face is that of Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina who was Speaker from 1801 to 1807. Macon was a modest, unassuming man of simple manners, attired always in the coarse homespun of the day, although an exceptionally able official. A lover of horses and cattle, he entered the pedigree of

his own blooded stock in his family Bible. Macon never posed for his picture. Although every effort has been made to discover a portrait of him the search has been without avail.

A service of barely five minutes in the Speaker's chair won for one man a space on the wall of this gallery. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House, was elected Vice President and took the oath of office on the 4th of March, 1869. On the morning of that day Colfax resigned the Speakership, and Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York, was elected Speaker for the remaining few minutes of the session.

The picture of Thomas B. Reed was painted during the last year of his term of office. When it was shown to him he looked at it closely. He noticed the protruding lips, the florid complexion, the heavy flabby cheeks and massive neck.

His eyelids partly closed and his countenance grew cold. Slowly and with his inimitable drawl he commented:

"I hope that my dearest enemy is satisfied now."

Then with an expression of irony on his countenance he turned and left the room.

Of the many portraits from life in the Capitol the most valuable is one of the Gilbert Stuart pictures of Washington. There are two portraits of Washington by Stuart. One of these is familiarly known about the Capitol as "False-Tooth Washington." Back of this lies an interesting anecdote of the first President. Washington is said to have had the first set of false teeth manufactured in America. They were made in Baltimore, and so pleased was the Father of his Country with the improvement they made in his facial contour that he straightway ordered his portrait painted. This is one of those seen in the Capitol. It might be remarked that these teeth were not a perfect fit, since it is declared that they rattled so badly while he was reading his inaugural speech when first elected President that he could scarcely be understood.

One of these Stuart portraits of Washington cost the Government \$5,000. This is the most expensive portrait in the Capitol. However, other pictures in the building have been infinitely more expensive. For instance, the great "Battle of Lake Erie" at the turn of the Senate staircase, showing Com-

modore Perry leaving his flagship at the height of the battle, cost \$30,000.

These pictures in the Capitol are frequently cleaned, restored, and reframed. For this purpose the pictures are removed from their frames. Great pads of blotting paper are spread out on the surface prepared for the operation. These blotting pads are then thoroughly soaked with oil. The picture is laid with its back on the pads while weights are placed on its face. The oil is slowly absorbed by the picture and the colors gradually brighten up.



THE LAST OF THE APACHES

It is known to many people in the Southwest that there still exists a small remnant of Geronimo's band of the Chiricahua Apaches in the Sierra Madre, along the Sonora-Chihuahua border.

Of late years, owing to the fact that time and occasional killings have reduced their number to a mere handful, and owing to the fact that they have not been seen by many Americans and have behaved fairly well, they have kept quite out of print, except in occasional articles rather reminiscent than in the form of news.

The small pueblo of Nacari Chico is the Mexican settlement nearest to their most frequent range, and this town is nearly 100 miles from the south end of the Nacozari Railroad. The people of the little village, some 700 souls, live by farming and stock raising, and do not wander much in the high ranges beyond the herds grazing the foothills.

Once in a while, though, the theft of a few head of stock calls their attention to the existence of the small remnant of their old-time enemies, whose atrocities were such that even the word Apache brings a shiver, and they exist in the recesses of that wild range, in the minds of these people idealized into ogres and monsters of the shadow.

About two years ago a Nacozari man was out in one of the canyons in the headwaters of the Hueberachi, near the mine

El Rubi, and he and an old gray-haired Apache gave each other a very decided heart movement by meeting around a big rock in the narrow gorge, almost bumping heads. They at once prepared for war, but decided to call it a draw and began a long confab.

Part of the time these Apaches have been supplied through American outlaws who for many years made headquarters here and used the Indians as their scouts. As bloody as their trail has been, one cannot escape a tinge of sadness in the thought of this old gray-haired remnant of a vanishing race, the Chiricahua Apaches, those of Cochise, Ju, Mangas Colorado, Victorio and Geronimo, all names to conjure the thrilliest kind of thrills.



HOTEL NINETY YEARS OLD

The Eastern Hotel, at Whitehall and South streets, the oldest continuously going concern of the kind in New York State, celebrated its ninetieth anniversary May 9. Proprietor John Bittner had invited fifty of the old hostlery's best and longest friends to a luncheon, and it was promised by Host Bittner that it would be worthy of the traditions of the place.

The old registers show names like Robert Fulton, Daniel Webster, Jenny Lind, Commodore Vanderbilt, P. T. Barnum, Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, who made it his home when he recruited his famous regiment of zouaves in that part of the city.

When it was first built as a warehouse by Capt. John Cole, master of an old clipper, he used fourteen-inch mahogany beams brought to this side as ballast. Later it changed into a hotel and had mahogany floors—not the paper thickness veneering of these later days, but heavy flawless two-inch slabs of the costly wood. When it was thrown open for its first guests, in 1822, it was the show hotel of the nation.

NOVEMBER, 1912

AMERICANA

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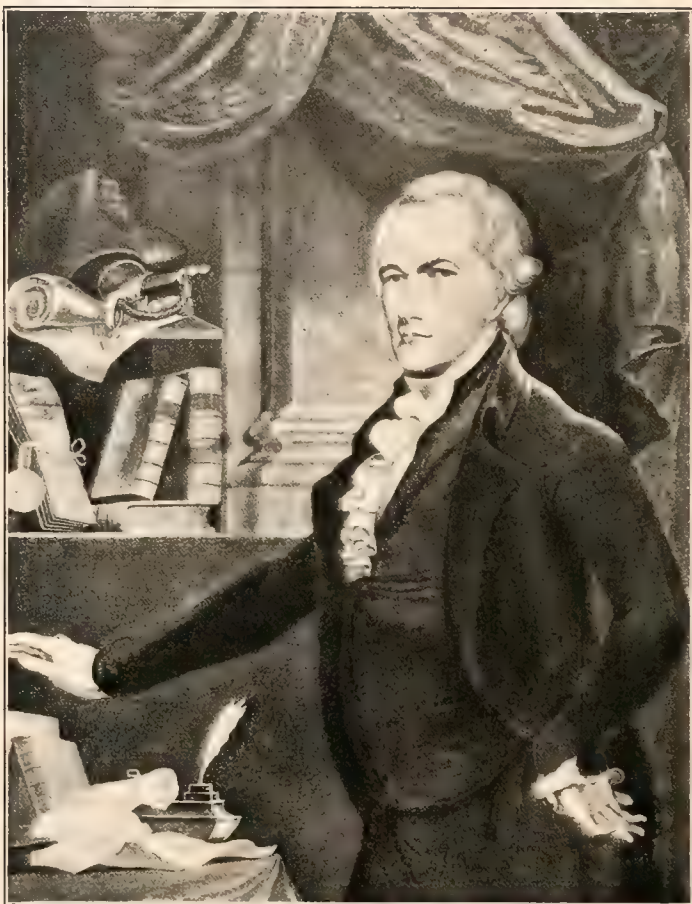
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ALEXANDER HAMILTON

AMERICANA

November, 1912

Alexander Hamilton and the Grange

(*A Worthy Memorial*)

BY JOSIAH C. PUMPELLE, A. M., LL.B.,

Historian of the Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution

A FOREWORD BY THE RECTOR OF ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY

TO write a Foreword to so excellent a treatment of such an interesting theme as "Hamilton and the Grange," seems like a work of supererogation; and yet, some brief word may not be inappropriate from the present occupant of this historic House, whose spacious walls, quaint old mantels and fireplaces, ancient doors with their massive locks and keys, all serve as tangible reminders of its builder and first occupant. The arrangement of the rooms, even the very walls themselves call up vivid memories of the noble soul who towards the evening of life left the "Madding crowd's ignoble strife" for the quiet seclusion and simple comforts of this stately domicile, only to be called therefrom to a tragic and untimely end.

The House—or Grange as he called it—is, like every true bit of work, an expression of its builder's personality, dignified yet simple, comfortable without ostentation and, above all, "honest" through and through, its hidden and unseen parts, such as beams and rafters, receiving quite as much attention as any

other, which perhaps accounts for its splendid state of preservation at the present day. Every detail of design and construction received his personal attention and thus, in very truth, the building represents the man. There is no sham or pretense or display about it. It stands simply for what it is—a spacious, dignified, comfortable and real home.

For these reasons it seems to me his best visible monument, most expressive of his personality, and therefore worthy of preservation by his successors who have reaped so bountifully from the seed which he has sown. The room in which I write is said to have been the place where this great patriot, with his entire family gathered about him, on the night before the duel, spent the time in converse with them and prayer to Almighty God. Doubtless his prayer included petitions for the welfare of this great Republic, for which he had labored so long and well. This alone should make the Grange a *patriotic sanctuary*, which a grateful people should preserve inviolate so long as the ravages of time permit.

October 14, 1912.

GEORGE ASHTON OLDHAM.

DR. HAMILTON'S COMMENDATION

Hamilton's grandson from whose admirable biography of his grandfather I have obtained much information, having perused my manuscript, writes me this:

"I appreciate, and am sure others of my family will, your disinterested and patriotic efforts to preserve the 'Grange,' and I thank you."

ALLEN McLANE HAMILTON.

Alexander Hamilton was born at Nevis on the island of St. Kitts in the British Antilles, January 11, 1757.

His father was James Hamilton, the fourth son of Alexander Hamilton, Laird of the Grange, Ayrshire, Scotland, and Rachel Fawcett. She was a brilliant and clever woman, who had been forced into a marriage with a rich Danish Jew, one John Michael Levine (or Lawein), who treated her so cruelly that

she left him and returned to her mother's roof. Several years afterward she fell in love with James Hamilton, an attractive Scotchman. Although effort was made, it was impossible, owing to the disorderly condition of legal affairs in the province, for Mrs. Levine to get her freedom from the person who had so ruined her life, yet she and Mr. Hamilton lived together until she died, in 1768, at the age of 32. Levine was a man of great influence and this was used to prevent any just legal action being taken. Anyway, divorce laws were not in vogue then and elopements, which were in those times an innocent manner of mating, were very common among the higher classes.

Swift, referring to this mating said: "The art of making nets is very different from the art of making cages."

However, this couple loved each other truly, and there was for them no loss of caste. The son, Alexander, was born a year after his mother, Rachel, left her mother's house and joined James Hamilton, and thereafter Levine did divorce her; cause "abandonment," but she was not permitted to marry again. In relation to this matter and its influence upon Hamilton's life, Allan McLane Hamilton, in the biography of his grandfather says:

"Certainly the best proof that no prejudice existed in after life in regard to Hamilton because of his birth are the facts not only that General Washington invited him to become a member of his military family, but that General Schuyler heartily approved of the marriage with his daughter."

Emerson says, "Hercules did not wait for a contest, he conquered where he stood or walked or sat or whatever thing he did." So it seems to have been with Alexander Hamilton. The main divisions of his life commencing with 1768, at the age of eleven years, were: four years a storekeeper's clerk at St. Croix in the Leeward Islands, three years a student at Kings College (Columbia), in New York, for six years he was a soldier in the war for Independence and secretary of our great leader, Washington. Thereafter at the age of twenty-five he was admitted to the bar and for twenty-two years, excepting the five when he was secretary of the treasury in Washington's cabinet, he practiced law. He was "In temper fiery and passionate, but delicate

in frame and puny of stature," says Oliver in his "Essay on American Union," "of affectionate disposition, hopeful and buoyant and ever winning friends wherever he goes and keeping them without an effort purely by the charm and sincerity of his spirit." As an alumnus of Columbia, I am proud that she opened her doors to Hamilton on his own terms as to length of course, after Princeton had refused to permit such an innovation, even though in a private examination by the president he had been found fully able to cut the regular four years' course in half. 'Twas all for the best that Hamilton should have graduated as he did and Columbia has his statue and her Hamilton Hall as continual reminders of her great alumnus.

In 1802 after the defeat of the party with which Hamilton affiliated, he wrote to a friend as follows, "A garden is a good place for a defeated politician, so I have bought a farm nine miles from town,"—that was fifteen acres he bought of Jacob Scheiffelin, August 2, 1800, located at 142d street and Convent avenue, just north of where now stands the College of the City of New York. Here he built in 1801 a fine roomy house and called it "The Grange," after the estate of Hamilton's uncle in Scotland and here he went to reside in 1802 and here he passed two of the happiest years of his life. At this time he had a large family. Besides his wife (the beloved Betsey), there were the two daughters, Angelica and Eliza, Fannie Autle, the adopted orphan of a comrade-in-arms, Alexander, Jr., eighteen, and James, sixteen years old, were the elder children—John, the boy who remembered and wrote afterwards about the planting of the famous thirteen gum trees, was a lad of ten. In his later years the writer heard from his lips many interesting incidents of his father. William, aged seven, and Philip, the second, were the babies of that happy household. The latter was born in "The Grange," just in time to take the name of the honored grandfather, General Philip Schuyler, who would otherwise have been left without a namesake in his illustrious son-in-law's family, Philip, the first born son of Hamilton, having been killed in a duel in his twentieth year. The timber of which the spacious rooms of the Grange was fashioned was grown on the Albany estate of Mrs. Hamilton's father.

At this time Hamilton was in the prime of life, vigorous and prosperous, his thirty years training in camp, forum, senate and cabinet had greatly enhanced his great natural talents. Devoted to his family and living thoroughly beloved and admired by a large circle of friends—for he was witty in conversation—he here entertained delightfully many famous men, including Napoleon's brother, Jerome Bonaparte and Marquis Talleyrand. In person he was rather below the average height, well proportioned in form, and his manners dignified and conciliating, features regular, brow massive and the whole countenance beaming with the generous sentiments of a kindly heart.

"There was something almost feminine," writes his grandson, "in Hamilton's gentleness and concern for the comfort and happiness of other people. It is a matter of tradition that he endeared the soldiers of his own company to him by sharing their hardships and providing them with necessities out of his almost empty pocket. With his own children he was even tender, entering into their sports and forgetting all his serious cares for the moment."

Life at the Grange was undoubtedly a merry one, for clever and attractive people were often gathered there. Governor Morris often came from Morris and Rufus King drove over from Long Island to discuss politics or gossip.

Hamilton was intensely devoted to the perpetuation of the new union of States. He conceived a design of establishing at his own home an emblem of the original thirteen States. He planted on the grounds of The Grange a circle of thirteen trees that would be symbolic of the thirteen stars on the blue field of the country's flag. These trees were set out a few years before his tragic death.

A part of the trunk of the last one of those trees that survived is now in the office of Park Commissioner Stover at the Arsenal in Central Park.

There appears to be no record as to the species of tree that Hamilton set out, but Commissioner Stover called in his experts and learned that the thirteen trees were the liquid amber, or what is commonly known as the sweet gum. Hamilton's know-

ledge of botany was not as profound as his learning in law and finance, or he would have selected a more enduring wood to represent the United States.

The sweet gum early decays in the open air and only lives 100 years or so. Converted into picture frames or other household articles it is often dyed black in imitation of ebony and is then very enduring. It exudes a fragrant resin that is used in France as a glove perfume.

The sexton of St. Luke's Episcopal Church at 141st street and Convent avenue said a few days ago that he had in his possession the larger portion of the trunk of one of the original Hamilton trees. He rescued it from a bonfire the boys of Washington Heights had made at the last Presidential election. This was probably the next to the last of the original trees to fall.

This tree toppled over in the lot at Convent avenue and 143d street, where a flat house has just been erected. All of the ground on which the Grange and its cluster of trees once stood is now occupied by apartment houses.

The Commissioner of the Park Department was impressed by Hamilton's idea of symbolizing the foundation of this great Republic by the living monument of trees, and he decided to perpetuate the motive as far as possible. The trees had to give way in the original site to the northward march of the city and it was not possible to replant them there; but the department has a small triangular plot only a few blocks away, at 138th street, Broadway and Hamilton place, and here thirteen trees have been planted to replace the Hamilton emblem. Sycamores were selected as being more hardy and enduring than the sweet gum. The layout of the park did not allow the trees to be planted in a circle as was done at the Grange, so they were set along the edges of the greensward.

And now we come to Hamilton's last years and all too early death.

Aaron Burr hated Hamilton because the latter, feeling Burr was an intriguer and a menace to the government, had defeated the latter's every scheme and he planned Hamilton's death in a duel and was successful.



"The Grange" as It Was



"The Grange" as It Is

THE HAMILTON HOME

The two were born within a year of one another, both had won distinction in the Revolution in leadership and courage, both were called to the bar at the same time and both were dandies, handsome and gallant. "Burr had wit and humor, Hamilton gaiety and eloquence," writes Oliver, "and up to the last they met politely in court and dined at one another's houses, each being intelligent enough to take a pleasure in the conversation and good manners of the other." But while both were good political fighters, one was a disinterested statesman, while the other was a selfish schemer and his interests were predatory.

After the challenge of Burr was accepted by Hamilton on July 4, 1804, one week before the duel, Hamilton presided at an annual banquet of the society of the Cincinnati, of which he was president and Burr a member. The latter was reserved and held no intercourse with the former, but on the contrary Hamilton was cheerful and when urged to sing the only song he ever sang or knew—The famous ballad of the "Drum"—he complied though reluctantly and sang in his best manner greatly to the delight of the old soldiers by whom he was surrounded.

The words are as follows:

" 'Twas in the merry month of May
When bees from flower to flower did hum,
Soldiers through the town marched gay,
The village flew to the sound of the drum.

The clergyman sat in his study within,
Devising new ways to battle with sin;
A knock was heard at the parsonage door,
And the sergeant's sword clanged on the floor.

We're going to war, and when we die,
We'll want a man of God near by,
So bring your Bible and follow the drum."

This incident shows clearly the remarkable courage and self-control that were the characteristics of this exceptional man.

He wrote his wife two farewell letters. The one dated July 4, reads as follows:

“This letter my very dear Eliza will not be delivered to you unless I shall first have terminated my earthly career, to begin as I humbly hope from redeeming grace and divine mercy a happy immortality. If it had been possible for me to have avoided the interview, my love for you and my precious children would have alone been a decisive motive. But it was not possible without sacrifices which would have rendered me unworthy of your esteem. I need not tell you of the pangs I feel from the idea of quitting you and exposing you to the anguish which I know you would feel, nor could I dwell on the topic lest it should unman me.

“The consolations of religion my beloved can alone support you, and these you have a right to enjoy. Fly to the bosom of your God and be comforted. With my last idea I shall cherish the sweet hope of meeting you in a better world.

“Adieu best of wives, best of women,
“Embrace all my darling children for me.

“Ever yours,

A. H.”

In days gone by at the Union League Club, John C. Hamilton, the fourth son of Alexander, spoke often of his father. He was twelve years old at the time of the duel, and his words about his loved father's last hours are most pathetic.

“The day before the duel,” says the son, “I was sitting in a room when at a slight noise I turned and saw my father in the doorway standing silently looking at me with a most sweet and beautiful expression of countenance, full of tenderness and without any of the business preoccupation he sometimes had. ‘John,’ said he, ‘won’t you come and sleep with me to-night,’ and his voice was frank as if it had been my brother’s instead of my father’s. That night I went to his bed and in the morning very early he awakened me and taking my hands in his palms, all four hands extended, he told me to repeat the Lord’s Prayer. Seventy years have since passed over my head, and I have forgotten many things, but not that tender expression when he stood looking at me at the door, nor the prayer we made together the morning just before the duel.”

Hamilton thoroughly disapproved of duelling and in a statement he drew up he spoke of his desire to avoid the meeting

upon "religious and moral" grounds, the possible loss to his family and sense of obligation to his creditors and yet "my relative situation," he writes, "as well in public as private, enforcing all the considerations which constitute what men of the world denominate honor, imposes on me (as I thought) a peculiar necessity not to decline the call."

"When Hamilton discharged his pistol in the air," says Victor Hugo Duras, in an article on Hamilton, "on that fateful morning, he ended the system of duelling in this nation for the public indignation rose so high that duelling became prohibited by law. Who knows but that he may have known that such would be the result."

Parton, the historian, says: "On July 11, the fateful duel was fought under the heights of Weehawken and Hamilton fell mortally wounded at the first fire. He did not himself fire at the word, but his pistol went off as he was falling. He died on the following day. As an evidence of one peculiarity in Burr's character of seeming heartlessness we note that James Parton in his life of Burr says that after his killing Hamilton in a duel he went to his home at Richmond Hill on corner of Charlton and Varick streets and quietly settled himself to reading in his library. A relative arrived from Connecticut after an all night journey, about seven a. m. At eight breakfast was served and later the guest went out for a stroll and not until he saw a commotion in the streets and was told the news by an acquaintance, did he know of the terrible tragedy that had occurred."

Hamilton, after being taken in a boat across the Hudson in a dying condition, was carried up to the house of his friend, William Bayard, at 80 Jane street, near the corner of Greenwich, where he was joined by his wife and family. The youngest, a baby of two years, afterwards the father of the writer referred to above, was kissed by his father, who recognized them all. So extraordinary in his great pain was his composure of mind, that he alone could calm the frantic grief of their mother, saying in a firm though pathetic voice, "Remember, my Eliza, you are a Christian."

The funeral took place Saturday, July 14th, 1804, from Trinity Church, of which church he was a vestryman.

Hamilton was on the editorial staff of the "Evening Post," and Coleman, who was also a member of the staff—wrote of the funeral that "the doorways and windows were filled with weeping women" and the ordinance forbidding the tolling of church bells, passed by reason of the frequency of the visits of "Yellow Jack," was repealed for that occasion. The Cincinnati, St. Andrew's Society and the members of the Bar attended the funeral. The gowned Columbia College lads met on their shady campus and marched across Robinson street—it is Park place now—to the house of John B. Church—Hamilton's brother-in-law—where lay the body of their great Alumnus. The Sixth regiment and the artillery formed in the park of the new City Hall, whose foundation Mayor Clinton had little more than laid. The general's gray horse with his boots in the stirrups, the charger being led by two black servants clad and turbaned in white, stood by the hearse at the door of Mr. Church's house. Then the coffin, on which were laid his sword and epaulets, was borne from within, followed by the four sons. Then St. Paul's around the corner sent forth its mournful toll. The Brick Church bell answered from up Chatham row, the Middle Dutch from down Nassau street, and still further down in the swarming, but silent Broadway, Trinity's solemn note added its tribute of mournful sound. Slowly the Sixth regiment with reversed arms marched into Beekman street, past the mourning draped doors of the old Park Theatre. The procession followed slowly across the park, past the Bridewell and the prison, from the steps of which he had once pleaded with the howling Doctor's Mob for the lives of the Shivering Sawbones inside. There was little along that line of march from the Park through Beekman to Pearl and down its devious lengths, between the warehouses of the merchant princes of the time, to Whitehall, to Broadway, and thence to Trinity's gate—little that did not remind one and all that the greatest spirit of the age was passing from the midst of the turbulent time.

Governor Morris delivered an eulogy. The soldiers rested their musket muzzles to the earth and their cheeks upon the

musket butts. Bishop Moore read the last offices, then the four sons looked their last upon their illustrious father.

Burr was indicted for murder, but he escaped from the city. At the end of his term as vice-president he was tried in Richmond in 1807 for so-called traitorous schemes, a verdict of "not proven" left Burr his liberty, but little else. Then came years of wandering and penury in Europe, and on his return to New York his cup of bitterness was filled to overflowing by the loss at sea of his beloved daughter Theodosia, when on her way to meet him.

After the death of her husband, the widow with her seven children made a brave fight to keep up the place so sanctified by tender memories, but her necessities forced her to dispose of the Grange and settle in New York, where she brought up her children as best she could, the two elder boys receiving help from friends in their study to be lawyers. Their large property which comprised several city blocks, passed into the hands of strangers, and in the year 1887 the site on which the homestead stood came into the possession of Mr. Amos Cotting, a generous and philanthropic citizen. In this same year the corporation of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal church which was then in Hudson street, opposite Grove, bought ten lots on the corner of Convent avenue and 141st street, a part of the original Alexander Hamilton farm, with the view of erecting thereon a new church edifice.

From an interesting manuscript kindly given me by Mrs. H. Crosswell Tuttle, I here quote as follows: "At this time Hamilton's old house located on the west side of Convent avenue across from the church lots and facing 143rd street, stood vacant, neglected and forgotten and Reverend Isaac H. Tuttle, D. D., the rector of St. Luke's, noticing this was inspired with the thought that that building was what he needed for a temporary chapel in which to form the nucleus of a congregation for the new church when it was finished. When Mr. Cotting became acquainted with his desire and its object, he magnanimously made the house a deed of gift to him. It was then moved across the street from its original site and placed upon the church land and soon afterwards its reception and dining room were converted into the semblance of a chapel in a simple way without marring the orig-

inal contour of the rooms. Mr. Cotting attended the first church service which was held in it and then unhappily caught a cold from which he died.

Whilst the house was used for a chapel many prominent bishops of the Episcopal church addressed the congregation gathered within the walls. The Rt. Rev. C. Whitehead, D. D., Bishop of Pittsburgh, also Bishops Talbot, Brewer, Walker, Gilbert and Coleman, the Bishop of Delaware. At the laying of the cornerstone of the new St. Luke's, November 10, 1891, the house was crowded with a large assembly of prominent clergy and laity of the Episcopal church, among them the Rt. Rev. Henry Codman Potter, Bishop of New York. He was the chief speaker of the day and it might be proper here to quote a part of his address, bearing on the subject of Hamilton as the first secretary of the treasury of our government. "I wonder if your imaginations were touched as mine was when your Rector, Dr. Tuttle, recalled that the new birth of St. Luke's church has taken place within these walls where lived the third most famous of all the early national heroes—Washington and Jefferson being those to whom we must yield priority—the splendid financier who took the finances of the Republic and snatched them out of the very 'slough of despond,'—so gifted, so accomplished, so charming, so many-sided! How he lives in the hearts of Americans to-day! How his spirit may inspire us! When we want to fly into some foolish financial policy, may we be recalled by his great financial mind."

After the completion of the building of the new St. Luke's church, "The Grange," ceased to be used as a chapel and was turned into a school, but for the last three years it has served as the church rectory and parish house. Its interior construction remains the same as when the Hamilton family occupied it and will remain unchanged so that future generations may see the apartments that Lafayette and Hamilton had just as they were so far as walls, woodwork and shape are concerned, when their august occupants used them. The large parlor and dining room on the first floor have octagonal windows at both ends, and in the former room there still remains intact the old colonial fireplace with brass fixtures. The large mirrors that

formerly lined the walls of the dining room and reflected the movements of the boats on the Harlem river to the family when seated at the table were removed unfortunately before St. Luke's took possession of the building. Efforts are now being made by the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution and the Washington Heights Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, to have the city purchase the Grange and preserve it as an historic museum.

Rev. George Ashton Oldham, the rector of St. Luke's, on March 30, 1911, wrote me on this subject as follows: "I am writing to inform you that although many of our people, for sentimental reasons, are anxious to retain possession of the Hamilton Grange, I have no doubt that the Church Corporation would be willing to part with the building to the City or State for a fair compensation. By which I mean such an amount as would enable us to erect a suitable building in its place. Although personally, I should be loth to part with the old house, I can see very clearly that from the standpoint of the public at large, it would be much better for it to be controlled and managed by the State or some Patriotic Society. Indeed the apathy and indifference of such persons towards this one of the very few remaining historical landmarks has been rather a matter of surprise to me, especially in view of the high estimation in which Alexander Hamilton is held."

The law under which this property can be transferred to the city reads as follows:

CHAPTER 220.

AN ACT to authorize the city of New York to acquire the Alexander Hamilton mansion, known as Hamilton Grange, and move it to a site in that portion of Saint Nicholas park, formerly constituting a part of the Alexander Hamilton farm.

Became a law, May 6, 1908, with the approval of the Governor.
Passed, three-fifths being present.

Accepted by the City.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, REPRESENTED IN SENATE AND ASSEMBLY, DO ENACT AS FOLLOWS:

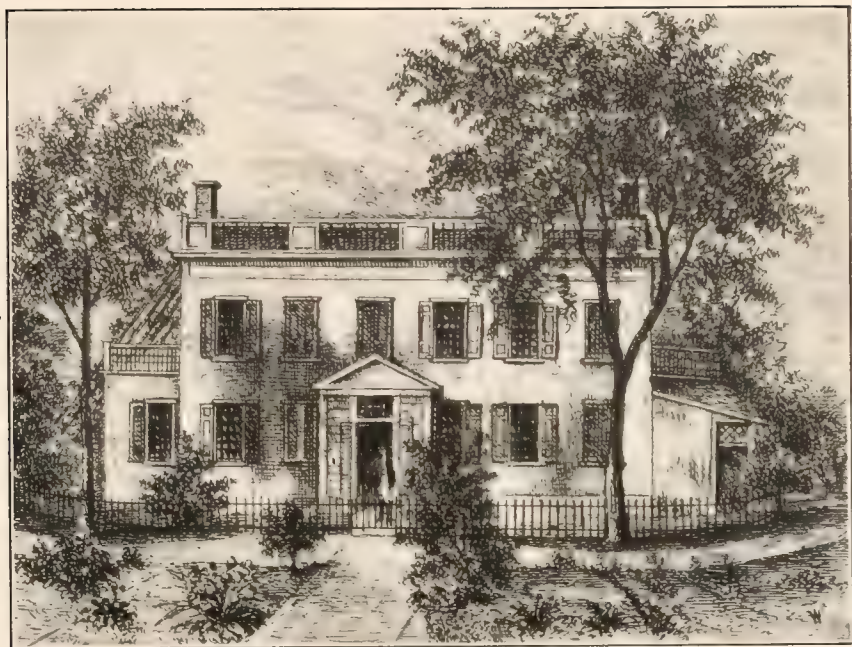
Section 1. The corporation known as "The Rector, Churchwardens and Vestrymen of Saint Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church" is hereby authorized to transfer and convey to the city of New York, either with or without consideration, the Alexander Hamilton mansion, known as Hamilton Grange, now owned by such church and located on the church property adjoining the church at the northeast corner of One Hundred and Forty-first street and Convent avenue in the city of New York. The city of New York is hereby authorized to acquire such property, either by purchase or as a gift and the board of estimate and apportionment is hereby authorized in its discretion to appropriate sufficient funds for the purchase of such grange and the removal of the same to a site in that portion of Saint Nicholas Park, which was formerly part of the Alexander Hamilton farm. Such site shall be selected by the board of estimate and apportionment and such authority as may be necessary for the utilizing of such park lands for such purpose is hereby granted. If such grange be given without consideration to the city of New York and accepted by it, the city of New York shall bear the expense of restoring the premises from which it is removed in such manner as may be agreed upon by the board of estimate and apportionment and such church corporation.

Sec. 2. Upon the removal of such grange to Saint Nicholas park, the same shall be under the jurisdiction of the commissioner of parks, who is authorized in his discretion to transfer the custody thereof to the Sons of the American Revolution or any similar society of the war of the revolution, for such a period of years and on such terms and conditions as he may deem advisable for the establishment therein of a public museum for the collection, preservation and exhibition of historical relics.

Sec. 3. The comptroller shall upon the requisition of the board of estimate and apportionment issue revenue bonds in such amount as may be needed to pay the expenses of purchasing and removing such grange and relocating the same as provided by this act.

Sec. 4. This act shall take effect immediately.

And when on April 20, 1909, the writer brought the matter to the attention of the Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, and moved the following resolution, which was passed by a unanimous vote:



Residence of Col. Marinus Willett



Burns' Coffee House

Places and People of Old New York

WHEREAS, This Society holds in profound respect and honor the memory of Alexander, Hamilton as a contemporary with Washington and Jefferson in the organization of the system of government of this Republic, and that he more than any other thought out our Federal Constitution and put new life into our whole financial system; and

WHEREAS, By Chapter 220 of the Laws of 1908, St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church in this city, the present owner of the "Alexander Hamilton Mansion" known as "Hamilton Grange" at 141st Street and Convent Avenue is authorized to transfer and convey to the City of New York, either with or without consideration the said mansion, and the city is authorized to acquire such property, and the Board of Estimate and Apportionment is authorized in its discretion to appropriate sufficient funds for said purchase and the removal of said building, under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Parks, to a site in that portion of St. Nicholas Park which was a part of the Alexander Hamilton farm, and upon such removal said commissioner is authorized in his discretion to transfer the custody of said mansion to the society of the "Sons of the American Revolution, or any similar society of the war of the revolution," on such terms and conditions "as to its custody," as he may deem advisable for the establishment therein of a public museum for the collection, preservation and exhibition of historical relics; therefore, ,

RESOLVED, That we, the Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, so heartily approve of the object of the movement, as herein stated, for the preservation of the home of this famous and gifted son of New York; and further

RESOLVED, That the present Committee be empowered to confer with the proper municipal authorities and with the officers of the above named Church, and to report such plan of action in the premises as they may deem advisable and feasible.

And the action taken by he D. A. R. Society is fully represented in the following Preamble and Resolution:

WHEREAS, The flight of time and the pressure of population are depriving the City of the memorials of its citizens who were foremost in achieving American Independence and in erecting our republican institutions; and

WHEREAS, The residence of ALEXANDER HAMILTON, orator, statesman and patriot, aide-de-camp to General Washington, Major-General in the American Army, First Secretary of the Treasury. the establisher of the public credit and one of

the chief authors and interpreters of the Constitution, is the last of the buildings in this City associated with the great founders of the nation, which is still left exposed to the vicissitudes of private ownership; and

WHEREAS, This residence situated on Convent avenue, near 141st street, is adjacent to that portion of the Alexander Hamilton farm recently added to St. Nicholas Park; and

WHEREAS, This residence was erected with lumber from the Albany estate of General Philip Schuyler; is an interesting example of colonial architecture; and is associated as a place of sojourn with such names as Schuyler, Morris, Pinckney and Kent; and

WHEREAS, The objects of the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution as expressed in Article II, Section I, of the Constitution, are:

(1) To perpetuate the memory of the spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence by the acquisition and protection of historical spots and the erection of monuments; by the encouragement of historical research in relation to the Revolution and the publication of its results; by the preservation of documents and relics, and of the records of the individual services of Revolutionary soldiers and patriots, and by the promotion of celebrations of all patriotic anniversaries.

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Washington Heights Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in furtherance of the purposes of our Constitution and representing the wishes of the patriotic citizens and societies who have already memorialized the Park Commissioner, do hereby most respectfully petition the Municipal Authorities of New York City to make an appropriation sufficient to acquire and remove the said building from its present location to a site in such portion of St. Nicholas Park as was formerly part of the Alexander Hamilton Farm; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the proper Municipal Authorities, the members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and also to other Patriotic and Historic Societies and the public Press, for their endorsement.

Adopted at a meeting of the Washington Heights Chapter, National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution held at 238 West 139th street, New York City, on Monday, February 5th, 1912.

Regent,
Mrs. Samuel J. Kramer.
Secretary,
Mrs. Charles Eninger.

New York should preserve this building because Alexander Hamilton was her most illustrious citizen. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the distinguished president of Columbia University, from which when it was but a small college, Hamilton graduated, crystallizes in a few eloquent words, a summing up of Hamilton's position in American history: "Five great nation builders stand out above all others by reason of the supreme service they rendered. The five are Washington, Hamilton, Marshall, Webster and Lincoln, of these five Hamilton was in some respects the most remarkable. He built not for the day but for the nation's history."

Talleyrand said of Hamilton: "I availed myself of the opportunity thus offered to meet the chief personages connected with the American Revolution, especially General Alexander Hamilton, whose mind, character and ability place him on a par with the most distinguished statesmen of Europe."

Guzot, the historian, says: "There is not in the Constitution of the United States an element of order or of force or of duration which he (Hamilton) has not powerfully contributed to introduce and caused to predominate."

Daniel Webster said:

"He smote the rock of the National resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth."

Story, the historian, always spoke of Hamilton as: "The model of eloquence and the most fascinating of orators."

(These three inscriptions appear upon the Alexander Hamilton Memorial in front of the Hamilton Club, Brooklyn, N. Y.).

Bismarck, the famous German Chancellor, consulted Hamilton's arguments on federation when the German Empire was being formed.

Webster declared that, "The fabled birth of Minerva from the brain of Jove was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system of the United States as it burst forth from the conception of Alexander Hamilton."

Besides this may we not truly say this great American belonged in an exceptional sense to New York because it was his home from youth to his all untimely death, and was the scene of most of his important life work and here rest his mortal remains.

And New York as a great financial center owes the greatest of obligations to this famous statesman, because he was the organizer of the financial and commercial system of the nation, and because he gave the best years of his life to his country and took for all his great labors less than a living wage. He never even enjoyed the recompense due for his military services, for he had resigned any such claims in order to be left free to advocate the cause of the Army in Congress, nor did he receive the usual allowance of lands such as were made to officers of rank similar to his own. Also his salary as secretary of the Treasury was totally inadequate to the position, and during his term of office he was obliged to contract many liabilities which fortunately by his lucrative law practice in this city he was able to clear up entirely sometime before his death.

In advocacy of our City's caring for the preservation of the Grange, Victor Hugo Duras, in his article in the *Americana* on Hamilton, says: "While the Nation has so carefully preserved Mount Vernon, the home of the 'Father of His Country,' and Virginia will soon see it to be fitting to preserve 'Monticello,' the home of the 'Author of the Declaration of Independence,' up to this time the home of Alexander Hamilton, although now beautifully maintained, has not as yet been taken over by either the Nation, the State or even the City which was so honored by the residence of the great "Federalist." "

PROCLAMATION, TO THE CITIZENS OF PADUCAH!

I have come among you, not as an enemy, but as your friend and fellow-citizen, not to injure or annoy you, but to respect the rights, and to defend and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens. An enemy, in rebellion against our common Government, has taken possession of, and planted its guns upon the soil of Kentucky and fired upon our flag. Hickman and Columbus are in his hands. He is moving upon your city. I am here to defend you against this enemy and to assert and maintain the authority and sovereignty of your Government and mine. I have nothing to do with opinions. I shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abetors. You can pursue your usual avocations without fear or hindrance. The strong arm of the Government is here to protect its friends, and to punish only its enemies. Whenever it is manifest that you are able to defend yourselves, to maintain the authority of your Government and protect the rights of all its loyal citizens, I shall withdraw the forces under my command from your city.

U. S. GRANT,

Brig. Gen. U. S. A., Commanding

Paducah, Sept 6th. 1861

The Unpublished Letters of Grant

BY WILLIAM K. SIMMONS

AN exceptionally interesting book, especially to students of American History, was published by G. P. Putnam's Sons in October. It is a collection of the letters which Ulysses S. Grant wrote to his father and youngest sister at various times between 1857 and 1878. Why these letters should have been permitted to remain unpublished for so many years we are not told. Indeed, few may ask this question for we are too glad to be able to read them at all and to be able to view the interesting and important side lights upon current events which they present.

In the preface of the volume, Mr. George Haven Putnam says:

“There has of late been a tendency, as a result of the teachings of certain historical authorities to minimize the influence of the leadership of the so-called great men and to question the importance of their work as a factor in shaping the history of the time. Great events are referred to as brought about by such general influences as the ‘spirit of the times’ (*Goethe's Zeitgeist*), the ‘movement of humanity,’ or ‘forces of society.’ If we accepted the theories of the writers of this school, we should be forced to the conclusion that generations of men move across the world's stage impelled by forces entirely outside of themselves; and that as far as the opportunity of individual action is concerned, that is for action initiated and completed under his own will-power, man might almost as well be a squirrel working in a revolving cage. The squirrel imagines that he moves the cylinder, but the outsider knows that the movement is predetermined and that there is no change of position and no net result from the exertion.

“A large number of people hold, notwithstanding, to the old-time feeling expressed, and doubtless exaggerated and over-emphasized in such books as Carlyle’s *Hero Worship*. They are unwilling, and in fact they find it practically impossible to get away from the belief that the thought of the time is directed by the great thinkers and that the action of the community is influenced and largely shaped by the power, whether this be utilized for good or for evil of the great men of action.

“In any case, men will continue to be interested in the personalities of the leaders whose names are connected with the great event of history. The citizens of each nation look back with legitimate pride upon the patriotic work of those who have helped to found the State, or to maintain its existence.

“Among the national leaders whose names will always hold an honorable place in American History is Ulysses S. Grant, the simple-hearted man and capable soldier, to whose patriotism, courage, persistence and skill was so largely due the successful termination of the war between the States, the contest which assured the foundations of the Republic. We are interested not only in learning what this man did, but in coming to know, as far as may be practicable, what manner of man he was. It is all-important in a study of development of character to have placed within reach the utterances of the man himself. There is no utterance that can give as faithful a picture of a man’s method of thought and principle of action, as the personal letter, written with no thought of later publication to those who are near to him. . . . These letters dating back to the time of his youth give a clear and trustworthy impression of the nature of the man and of the development of character and of force that made possible his all-valuable leadership.”

The volume is edited by General Grant’s nephew, Jesse Grant Cramer, who introduces the letters with a brief introductory note which may well be reproduced here:

“In 1843, at the age of twenty-one, Ulysses S. Grant was graduated from West Point with the rank of brevet second-lieutenant. He was appointed to the 4th Infantry, stationed at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis. In May, 1844, he was ordered to the frontier of Louisiana with the army of observation, while

the annexation of Texas was pending. The Bill for the annexation of Texas was passed March 1, 1845; the war with Mexico began in April, 1846. Grant was promoted to a first-lieutenancy September, 1847. The Mexican war closed in 1848. Both this war and the Civil War he characterized in his *Memoirs* as 'unholy.'

"Soon after his return from Mexico he was married to Julia Dent. The next six years were spent in military duty in Sacketts Harbor, New York, Detroit, Michigan, and on the Pacific Coast. He was promoted to the captaincy of a company in 1853; but because of the inadequacy of a captain's pay, he resigned from the army July, 1854, and rejoined his wife and children at St. Louis. In speaking of this period Grant says, 'I was now to commence at the age of thirty-two a new struggle for our support.' "

The first chapter in this new struggle was farming, and it is with this that the first letter in the book has to do. It was written to his youngest sister, Mary, then sixteen years old, afterwards Mrs. Cramer. The "Jenny" to whom he refers was the second sister, afterwards Mrs. Corbin. This letter reads:

ST. LOUIS, MO., Aug. 22, 1857.

DEAR SISTER: I am glad to hear that mother and Jennie intend to make us a visit. I would advise them to come by the river if they prefer it. Write me beforehand the time you will start, and from Louisville again, what boat you will be on. * * *

I have nothing in particular to write about. My hard work is now over for the season with a fair prospect of being remunerated in everything but the wheat. My wheat, which should have produced from four to five hundred bushels with a good Winter, has yielded only seventy-five. My oats were good, and the corn, if not injured by frost this Fall, will be the best I ever raised. My potato crop bids fair to yield fifteen hundred bushels or more. Sweet potatoes, melons and cabbages, are the only other articles I am raising for market. In fact, the oats and corn I shall not sell.

I see I have written a part of this letter as if I intended to direct to one, and part as if to the other of you; but you will understand it, so it makes no difference.

Write to me soon and often. Julia wears black. I had forgotten to answer that part of your letter.

Your affectionate Brother,

ULYSS.

In the fall of 1858, Grant sold at auction his stock in crops and gave up farming, that he might go into business with his father, Jesse Grant, who had founded a leather store in Galena with the exception that his three sons would succeed him in business. It is this opening to which he refers with characteristic independence in the following letter:

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 1, 1858.

DEAR FATHER: I arrived home Tuesday evening, and, it being my "chill" day, of course felt very badly. Julia has been much worse during my absence. Fred has improved steadily and can now hear nearly as well as before his sickness. Mr. Dent and myself will make a sale this fall and get clear of all stock on the place, and then rent the cleared out land and sell about 400 acres of the north end of the place. As I explained to you, this will include my place. I shall plan to go to Covington towards spring, and would prefer your offer to any one of mere salary that could be offered. I do not want any place for permanent stipulated pay, but want the prospect of one day doing business for myself. There is a pleasure in knowing that one's income depends somewhat upon his own exertions and business capacity, that cannot be felt when so much and no more is coming in, regardless of the success of the business engaged in or the manner in which it is done.

Mr. Dent thinks I had better take the boy he has given Julia along with me, and let him learn the farrier's business. He is a very smart, active boy, capable of making anything; but this matter I will leave entirely to you. I can leave him here and get about \$3 per month for him now, and more as he gets older. Give my love to all at home.

Yours truly,

ULYSSES.

TO J. R. GRANT, ESQ.,
Covington, Ky.

In the following letter the point must be understood that Orvil is the youngest brother and that the appointment referred to was one for the place of County Engineer. In his memoirs Grant thus speaks of the "Freesoilers:"

"The Whig Party had ceased to exist. The Know Nothing Party had taken its place but was on the wane; the Republican Party was in a chaotic state and had not yet received a name. It had no existence in the Slave States, except at points on the

borders of the Free States. In St. Louis City and County, what afterward became the Republican Party, was known as the Free Soil Democracy.”

Professorship of Mathematics referred to: When Grant left the Military Academy he had no intention of remaining in the army. He then expected to teach mathematics, and had already applied for such a position at West Point. The Mexican War, however, soon drew him into active military life.

The real estate venture, of which he speaks, was unsuccessful. It was a business even then much overcrowded. Necessity, not instability, dictated the various experiments.

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 20, 1859.

DEAR FATHER: On last Wednesday I received your letter and the Monday before one from Mr. Burke, from both of which I much regretted to learn of Simpson's continued ill health. I at once wrote to Orvil, whose arrival at Galena I learned from Burke's letter, to urge Simpson to come by steamer to St. Louis and spend some time with me, and if it should prove necessary for any one to accompany him, I would take him home. Cannot Jennie and Orvil's wife come this way when they start for Galena? We would like very much to see them.

I am not oversanguine of getting the appointment mentioned in my last letter. The Board of Commissioners, who make the appointment, are divided—three Free Soilers to two opposed—and although friends who are recommending me are the very first citizens of this place, and members of all parties, I fear they will make strictly party nominations for all the offices under their control. As to the professorship you speak of, that was filled some time ago. And were it not, I would stand no earthly chance. The Washington University, where the vacancy was to be filled, is one of the best endowed institutions in the United States, and all the professorships are sought after by persons whose early advantages were the same as mine, but who have been engaged in teaching all their mature years.

Quimby, who was the best mathematician in my class, and who was for several years an assistant at West Point, and for nine years a Professor in an institution in New York, was an unsuccessful applicant. The appointment was given to the most distinguished man in his department in the country, and an author. His name is Shorano. Since putting in my application for the appointment of County Engineer, I have learned that the place is not likely to be filled before February next. What I

shall do depends entirely upon what I can get to do. Our present business is entirely overdone in the city, at least a dozen new houses having started about the same time as I commenced. I do not want to fly from one thing to another, nor would I, but I am compelled to make a living from the start for which I am willing to give all my time and all my energy.

ULYSSES.

Here is a letter to his brother Simpson. This letter is a naive expression of a fundamental trait in Grant's character, belief in the essential honesty of every man.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 24, 1859.

DEAR BROTHER: I have been postponing writing to you hoping to make a return for your horse, but as yet I have received nothing for him. About two weeks ago a man spoke to me for him and said that he would try him the next day, and if he suited, give me \$100 for him. I have not seen the man since; but one week ago last Saturday he went to the stable and got the horse, saddle and bridle, since which I have seen neither man nor horse. From this I presume he must like him. The man, I understand, lives in Florissant, about 12 miles from this city.

My family are all well and living in our own house. It is much more pleasant than where we lived when you were here, and contains practically about as much room. I am still unemployed, but expect to have a place in the Custom House from the first of the month. My name has been forwarded for the appointment of Superintendent, which, if I do not get it, will not probably be filled at all. In that case there is a vacant desk which I may get that pays \$1,200 a year. The other will be worth from \$1,500 to \$1,800 and will occupy but little time.

Remember me to all at home,

Yours,

U. S. GRANT,

In March, 1861, Lincoln was inaugurated President. Fort Sumpter was fired on, and Lincoln issued his first call for troops, 75,000 volunteers. The quota for Illinois had been fixed as six regiments. Galena immediately raised a company. Grant declined the Captaincy, but promised his aid in every other way. The following letter shows Grant's political attitude at the time:

GALENA, April 21, 1861.

DEAR FATHER: We are now in the midst of trying times when every one must be for or against his country, and show his colors, too, by his every act. Having been educated for such an emergency, at the expense of the Government, I feel that it has upon me the superior claims, such claims as no ordinary motives of self-interest can surmount. I do not wish to act hastily or unadvisedly in the matter, and as there are more than enough to respond to the first call of the President, I have not yet offered myself. I have promised, and am giving all the assistance I can in organizing the company whose services have been accepted from this place. I have promised further, to go with them to the State capital, and if I can be of service to the Governor in organizing his State troops to do so. What I ask now is your approval of the course I am taking, or advice in the matter. A letter written this week will reach me in Springfield. I have not time to write to you but a hasty line, for, though Sunday as it is, we are all busy here. In a few minutes I shall be engaged in directing tailors in the style and trim of uniform for our men.

Whatever may have been my political opinions before, I have but one sentiment now. That is, we have a Government, and laws, and a flag, and they must all be sustained. There are but two parties now, traitors and patriots, and I want hereafter to be ranked with the latter, and I trust, the stronger party. I do not know but you may be placed in an awkward position, and a dangerous one pecuniarily, but costs cannot be counted. My advice would be to leave where you are if you are not safe with the views you entertain. I would never stultify my opinion for the sake of a little security.

Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT.

At the time of the following letter Grant has changed his mind and joined the Northern army. He is assisting in the Adjutant General's office, as requested by Gov. Yates. There are interesting passages about the war feeling at the time he writes:

SPRINGFIELD, May 2, 1861.

DEAR FATHER: Your letter of the 24th received the same evening one I had written to Mary was mailed.

I am not a volunteer, and, indeed, could not be, now that I did not go into the first company raised in Galena. The call of the

President was so promptly responded to that only those companies that organized at once and telegraphed their application to come in were received. All other applications were filed, and there are enough of them to furnish the Illinois quota. The army should be raised to 300,000 men. I am serving on the Governor's staff at present at his request, but suppose I shall not be here long.

I should have offered myself for the Colonelcy of one of the regiments, but I find all those places are wanted by politicians who are up to log-rolling, and I do not care to be under such persons.

The war feeling is not abating here much, although hostilities appear more remote than they did a few days ago. Three of the six regiments mustered in from this State are now at Cairo, and probably will be reinforced with two others within a few days.

Galena has several more companies organized but only one of them will be able to come in under a new call for ten regiments. Chicago has raised companies enough nearly to fill all the first call. The Northern feeling is so fully aroused that they will stop at no expense of money and men to insure the success of their cause.

I presume the feeling is just as strong on the other side, but they are infinitely in the minority in resources.

I have not heard from Galena since coming down here, but presume all is moving along smoothly. My advice was not to urge collections from such men as we knew to be good, and to make no efforts to sell in the present distracted state of our currency. The money will not buy Eastern exchange and is liable to become worse; I think that thirty days from this we shall have specie, and the bills of good foreign banks to do business on, and then will be the time to collect.

If Mary writes to me any time next week she may direct here to

ULYSSES.

President Lincoln asked the Illinois delegation in Congress to recommend some citizens of the State for the place of Brigadier General. They unanimously recommended Grant first in a list of seven. Meanwhile he had been promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. He was then ordered to Missouri, 70 miles south of St. Louis. This letter is to his sister Mary, and is interesting because it gives Grant's idea on the length of the war. Grant at the beginning thought that it would end within six weeks, and, indeed, maintained that opinion until after the battle of Shiloh:

IRONTON, Mo., Aug. 12, 1861.

DEAR SISTER: Your letter directed to me at Mexico came to my hand yesterday at this place. * * * When I came here it was reported that this place was to be attacked by 8,000 Secessionists within a day or so. Now their forces seem to be reduced, and their distance from here to have increased. Scouting parties, however, are constantly seen within a few miles of our pickets. I have here about 3,000 volunteers, nearly all infantry, but, our position being strong and our cause a good one, it would trouble a much larger force of the enemy to dislodge us. You ask my views about the continuance of the war, and so forth. Well I have changed my mind so much that I don't know what to think. That the rebels will be so badly whipped by April next that they cannot make a stand anywhere, I don't doubt. But they are so dogged that there is no telling when they may be subdued. Send Union troops among them and respect all their rights, pay for everything you get, and they become desperate and reckless because their State sovereignty is invaded. Troops of the opposite side march through and take everything they want, leaving no pay but scrip, and they become desperate secession partisans because they have nothing more to lose. Every change makes them more desperate. I should like to be sent to Western Virginia, but my lot seems to be cast in this part of the world.

I wanted to remain in St. Louis a day or two to get some books to read that might help me in my profession, and have my uniform made. Mine has been a busy life from the beginning, and my new-made friends in Illinois seem to give me great credit. I hope to deserve it, and shall spare no pains on my part to do so.

It is precious little time I shall have for writing letters, but I have subscribed for The Daily St. Louis Democrat to be sent to you, through which you may occasionally hear from me.

Write to me often even though your letters are not answered. As I told father in my last I will try to have you hear from me twice a month if I have to write you after midnight.

I told Julia she might go to Covington and board whilst I am away but I don't know but that she had better stay where she is. The people of Galena have always shown the greatest friendship for me and I would prefer keeping my home there. I would like very much, though, if you would go and stay with Julia.

If I get a uniform and get where I can have my daguerreotype taken, your wish in that respect shall be gratified.

Your Brother,

ULYS.

Grant's description of a battle in a letter is most interesting,

the battle of Belmont being the first event of importance after the occupation of Paducah. This was the first time the men and officers were under fire, and they behaved like veterans:

CAIRO, NOV. 8, 1861.

DEAR FATHER: It is late at night and I want to get a letter into the mail for you before it closes. As I have just finished a very hasty letter to Julia that contains about what I would write, and having something else to do myself, I will have my clerk copy it.

Day before yesterday I left here with about 3,000 men in five steamers, conveyed by two gunboats, and proceeded down the river to within twelve miles of Columbus. The next morning the boats were dropped down just out of range of the enemy's batteries and the troops debarked.

During this operation our gunboats exercised the rebels by throwing shells into their camps and batteries.

When all ready we proceeded about one mile towards Belmont, opposite Columbus; then I formed the troops into line, and ordered two companies from each regiment to deploy as skirmishers, and push on through the woods, and discover the position of the enemy. They had gone but a little way when they were fired upon, and the ball may be said to have fairly opened.

The whole command with the exception of a small reserve, was then deployed in like manner with the first, and ordered forward. The order was obeyed with great alacrity, the men all showing great courage. I can say with gratification that every Colonel without a single exception set an example to his command that inspired a confidence that will always insure victory when there is the slightest possibility of gaining one. I feel truly proud to command such men. From here we fought our way from tree to tree through the woods to Belmont, about two and a half miles, the enemy contesting every foot of ground. Here the enemy had strengthened their position by felling the trees for two or three hundred yards and sharpening the limbs, making a sort of abattis. Our men charged through, making the victory complete, giving us possession of their camp and garrison equipage, artillery, and everything else.

We got a great many prisoners. The majority, however, succeeded in getting aboard their steamer and pushing across the river.

We burned everything possible and started back, having accomplished all that we went for, and even more. Belmont is entirely covered by the batteries from Columbus, and is worth

nothing as a military position. It cannot be held without Columbus.

The object of the expedition was to prevent the enemy from sending a force into Missouri to cut off troops I had sent there for a special purpose and to prevent reinforcing Price.

Besides being well fortified at Columbus, their numbers far exceed ours, and it would have been folly to have attacked them. We found the Confederates well armed and braced. On our return, stragglers that had been left in our rear, now front, fired into us, and more recrossed the river and gave us battle for fully a mile, and afterward at the boats when we were embarking. There was no hasty retreating or running away. Taking into account the object of the expedition, the victory was most complete. It has given me a confidence in the officers and men of this command that will enable me to lead them in any future engagement without fear of the result. Gen. McClellan (who by the way acted with great coolness throughout, and proved that he is a soldier as well as statesman) and myself each had our horses shot under us. Most of the field officers met with the same loss, besides nearly one-third of them being killed or wounded themselves. As nearly as I can ascertain our loss was about 250 killed, wounded and missing.

I write in great haste to get this to the office to-night.

U. S. GRANT.

Our Unfought War With England

PART II

OF the series of unpublished letters presented at a recent meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Charles Francis Adams, from the papers of his father, Minister at the Court of St. James in 1861, a second installment follows:

ADAMS TO MOTLEY

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
LONDON, 4 December, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I am here quietly waiting the development of events over which I have no control, and in which I had no participation. Down to the moment of the outbreak about the *Trent* I had been flattering myself that things were getting better here rather than worse, and that I was gradually gaining upon the confidence of the Government. But in critical times the mistake of a naval officer may in a moment overturn the firmest superstructure. It was so in former times and it has proved so now. That Captain Wilkes acted solely on his own responsibility I have not a shadow of doubt. That on the basis of every English construction of the law of nations, as well as of its uniform practice the act may be defended, is equally clear to me. On the other hand, however, it ought to be remembered that the uniform tendency of our own policy has been to set up very high the doctrine of neutral rights, and to limit in every possible manner the odious doctrine of search. To have the two countries virtually changing their ground under this momentary temptation, would not, as it seems to me, tend to benefit the posi-

tion of the United States. Whereas a contrary policy might be made the means of securing a great concession of principle from Great Britain. Whether the Government at home will remain cool enough to see its opportunity I have no means of judging. I am making my arrangements on the expectation of an opposite course. If I remain here after New Year I shall be surprised. Nor yet do I feel as if I wanted very much to stay. The best thing for the two countries would be a stoppage of relations for a short time without actual war. As it is you may well imagine that my situation will not be likely to grow pleasanter. Though personally people treat me well, and Government professes to be fully satisfied, it is by no means agreeable to be made an exception of. The distinction might be thought to imply a good deal more of subserviency than I am disposed to earn a character for. My countrymen may be sometimes wrong, but in their relations with the mother country from first to last I honestly believe that their record will stand before posterity by far the best. Neither will that portion of it which has been made up since these latest troubles began tend in my opinion to change the character of the verdict. Its principal characteristic on the side of England is intense egoism and short-sighted nationality. Its type is the Minister who guides its policy. Had the view been more expanded, had the mind of Great Britain addressed itself to the recognition of great moral results to be arrived at in the movement of opinion over the world towards the protection of the human family against wilful wrong, perhaps the course of events might have been different. It is not for us to call in question the course of Divine Providence which regulates all these things much better than any of us could aspire to do, for the benefit of the world.

Should the worst happen to us I do not quite see the consequences which you imagine to flow from it. There will be many neutral nations who will naturally seek to appropriate to themselves the profits which Great Britain will wantonly throw away. She may injure us on the sea-board, but she cannot subject us. And the end will be that changes will take place in the course of trade as well as of political sympathies which may lead to important consequences in the course of years to the well-

being of the British community. She has now no friends in the world not of her own blood. She will ultimately find the exception the most bitter of her enemies. She may conciliate the slave-holder of the South but her treaties with him must be made only as that of Faust was made, exchanging a present enjoyment for eternal condemnation. . . .

This last news caught us in the midst of a visit to Monckton Milnes. I find I cannot follow that practice farther.

Very truly yours,

C. F. ADAMS.

ANDREW TO RUSSELL

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
BOSTON, December 11, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your note of the 7th enclosing a slip from the *Evening Post* condemning the numerous manifestations of misplaced sympathy by some citizens of Boston with rebel prisoners confined at Fort Warren.

I fully appreciate your feelings in this matter and share with the writer of the *Post* in his condemnation of that sympathy with traitors which makes men, in comparison with whom Benedict Arnold was a saint, comfortable in their confinement, while our own brave defenders of liberty and Union and the rights of man are cut off from all such sympathy by the rigorous despotism of the southern oligarchy—but I do not know of anything that I can do to prevent it.

I very well remember Mason's insolent overbearing demeanor in that memorable interview between himself and old John Brown, and can truly rejoice with you that, if he does not, in all respects, receive all the compensation for his baseness through a long public career in the few days which yet remain to him in this life, his power for future mischief is forever abridged, and that all the luxuries which Boston sympathizers with treason and with traitors can bestow cannot defeat the purposes and the plans of infinite justice. Very truly and faithfully yours.

JOHN A. ANDREW.

Edward Russell, New York.

ADAMS TO DANA

LONDON, 13 December, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: Probably the thing is all over with you before now: certainly it will be before this reaches you. It has been a curious state of feeling among us here to witness the calm confidence with which you repose in the belief that Great Britain will abide by her former policy, merely because you can quote chapter and verse against her. The experience of the past summer might have convinced you that she was not indifferent to the disruption of the Union. In May she drove in the tip of the wedge, and now you can't remember that a few spider's webs of half a century back will not be strong enough to hold her from driving it home. Little do you understand of the fast-anchored isle.

But what provokes me most is that we should consent to take up and to wear her cast-off rags. Our record on this question as against her is like the Archangel Michael's as against Satan. And now we are trying to prove that she was right when she is ready to cry *peccavi*, not because she really repents, but because the sin has become inconvenient.

I have not time to enter into the argument. My present expectation is that I shall have a chance before long to talk it over with you.

Ever truly yours,

C. F. ADAMS.

ADAMS TO DAVIS

LONDON, 13 December, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I am indebted to you for several letters which I regret to say I have not had the time to answer. They have all been quite encouraging in their tone, for which I was especially thankful. The worst thing we have had to contend against here has been the continuously unfavorable accounts from persons who affect public opinion through the newspapers.

Since the affair of the *Trent* matters have taken quite a new turn, and the disposition to take a hand in settling our affairs for us has become very predominant. We are all waiting with more

or less impatience the answer to the message by the *Europa*. Most of us think that it has not been put in the most favorable channel to be pacific. So that we are making our preparations to accept a polite invitation to receive our passports. I hope the Government will be able to see its way to a contrary result. For really these two gentlemen rebels do not seem to me worth what they are likely to cost us. But I pray you as the matter has already been in all probability decided before now, to keep this my opinion entirely to yourself.

With best respects to Mrs. Davis, I am, etc.,

C. F. ADAMS.

To Charles Aug. Davis.

DANA TO ADAMS

BOSTON, December 17, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: This steamer brings a terrific howl from England, on the *Trent* question.—“The smug and silver Trent comes me cranking in, and cuts me off from my domain a huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle [out]”—all the South!

On a question of international law, I would offer no opinion to a person understanding the question as you do; but on a question of Prize Tribunals and Prize Processes, I have, of late, acquired some little knowledge, and got into the way of forming opinions. If England is going to make war upon us on a question of *abatement*, when the verdict and judgment have done substantial justice, let her do it, and the curse of the God of Peace be upon her!

But, independent of a question of Prize, did not your father, in one of his documents, say that Great Britain did not restrict her claim of the right to take seamen from our vessels to her own subjects? Did he not say that she extended her claim, as she did her usage, to Danes and Swedes, and men of all nations with whom she was at peace? I have never examined the question whether the taking of persons from a neutral vessel by a belligerent, when the having them on board was a breach of neutrality, can be justified on any other grounds than *as part of a Prize proceeding*. Is the belligerent obliged, in a clear case, to treat the

vessel as a prize, and have the change of property in her passed upon by the courts? If the hostile act is merely the transporting of soldiers, may he make the soldiers prisoners, and make no claim on the vessel, and prove the facts as in all other cases of international conflicts on land? Is the omission to insist on the capture and bringing in of the vessel, a good ground of complaint? It seems to me that he may do so. The release is no injury to the neutral owner, or to any private interest, but a benefit. So far as the neutral sovereign is concerned, for the invasion of the flag, and territory, etc., cannot the question be decided between the two sovereigns as almost all other questions of conflict are, by the best evidence attainable of facts, and the opinions of jurists and constitutional advisers? To insist on the capture and taking in of the vessel, seems to me a confounding of two things that do not belong together.

But, if I am wrong on that question, was the *Trent* a lawful prize? On that you have, doubtless, a fixed opinion, to which I defer, without knowing what it is. My own opinion, and I think the universal American opinion, is that she was a lawful prize. Mason and Slidell were bound on an errand solely, necessarily, and extremely hostile. The mission was treason to the United States, and, in the view of the law of nations, one which embraced and included all possible hostilities; nor were they ambassadors, in the opinion of England. Their mission was notorious and of the highest character, and the *Trent* took them with full knowledge. She gave them what they needed most, transportation under safe conduct and disguise of a neutral flag; and she refused to our cruiser the right of search. If these facts would not condemn her, in any Prize court, there is no such thing as law to Prize.

But, now to my specialty! We understand Great Britain to say that however that may be, we were bound to insist on the capture of the vessel, and obtain an adjudication. And that the failure to do so is ground of complaint.

A prize proceeding is merely an *inquest*, by the Sovereign himself, through his judicial branch, upon his own act done through his executive branch, to determine whether he will or will not ratify the capture. It is, in all its stages, a sovereign

act, on sovereign responsibility. His executive officers seize, and he is responsible. He is not bound by the advice of his court, except morally, and is not exempt from responsibility because his judges pronounced it lawful prize. It comes down to this:—the usage of nations is settled that he must not treat the vessel as prize, or retain the fruits of the prize, and refuse to put the question through his own tribunals. The neutral sovereigns have a right to have the facts elicited in the usual judicial manner, and to have the chances of a decision in their favor, which decision is morally conclusive against the belligerent. But the court is bound by the will of the sovereign, as in the case of the orders in Council, and he is responsible for holding to the decision, if neutrals think it unjust. And it is not conclusive in his favor, as a political question, in case of an open mixed commission, as in our case, in 1795.

The Prize Court does not sit *inter partes*, to determine litigated question between private suitors, or between the sovereign and a private person; but it is an *inquest*, held by the sovereigns direction, *ex parte* entirely, passing upon questions not voluntarily submitted to it, either by actual or implied assent, relating to the property of aliens and strangers, over whom it has no jurisdiction, by consent or otherwise, seized and brought before it by force; and if the sovereign follows its decisions, he is politically responsible.

This being the theory of the Prize Tribunal (which in England, is not the House of Lords, but the *Queen in Council*), there are many cases which cannot be submitted to it. The Court cannot decide questions or propositions. It must have, actually or by fiction, a *res* before it to pass upon. Whatever the Privy Council may do, our Supreme Court cannot advise, or give opinions on mere questions submitted by the sovereign.

If the prize is lost, abandoned as unseaworthy, lost in the taking, or any other case of necessity arises which requires the captor to so treat the prize that there shall be no cause possible for the Court, it is enough for the sovereign to show, otherwise, that the capture was lawful, and to account for the failure to have an adjudication. Suppose a neutral vessel taken with a

regiment of rebel troops on board, which had run one blockade, and was bound to another blockaded port, and the captor requires all his own men to guard his prisoners, and must either release the prize or destroy her, and he does the former, out of tenderness to the neutral, retaining the troops, but retaining, and using no *thing* which can be, even by fiction, the subject of adjudication,—must the sovereign, at the peril of war restore the regiment to the neutral sovereign's control, because his officer so acted that the question of the vessel being a prize cannot be passed through the courts? It is not competent for him, under the law of nations, to show two things, *first* that the vessel was a good prize, and second that the failure to carry the case through the Courts was from necessity in the exercise of a reasonable discretion, *bona fide*, and attended with no possible injury either to the neutral owner or to the Sovereign, as, for instance, no loss of testimony or means of proving facts,—nothing that throws a cloud or doubt over the cause? To me, it seems that the sovereign must be entitled to do that, under the law of nations. And for a neutral to insist on a restoration of the troops, *without reference to the question whether the vessel had made herself liable, and why she was not taken through the courts*, would be utterly unjustifiable.

As to the general view, I think our people are full of resolution. They wish to be in the right, and will do anything to avoid a war which is not undignified; but, if England makes a war which our people believe to be a war of pretext, the *animus* of which is to divide our empire, our people will enter into it with a zeal which has never been known before in our history.

You, my dear sir, must be having a peculiarly jolly time! I think often of your situation. You are the truest martyr of these days.

What a shame and pity it is, now, that the personal and political enemies of Mr. Seward have been so industrious in making him suspected and disliked abroad, and by the diplomatic circles here! I think his despatches and correspondence, furnished with the message of the President, do him great credit, and have restored confidence in him here. Yours, with respect and sympathy,

RICHARD H. DANA, JR.

ADAMS TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

LONDON, 20 December, 1861.

SIR: Although nothing remains to be done here to modify the respective positions of the two countries in regard to the affair of the *Trent*, I decided to ask a conference of Lord Russell for the purpose of talking over the substance of your communications to me in Despatches No. 136 and No. 137. It was appointed for yesterday at three o'clock, when I enjoyed an opportunity for full and frank conversation.

My main object at this time was, so far as I could, to disabuse His Lordship's mind of the impression which certainly exists there, and in a much stronger degree among most of his colleagues in the Ministry, that the Government of the United States and most particularly the Secretary of State, the organ of communication with Foreign nations, is bent upon a hostile policy towards Great Britain. I began by expressing my surprise at the prevalence of such an idea for which I could not well comprehend the cause. His Lordship then made a general reference to a speech said to have been delivered by yourself last year, which set forth the acquisition of Canada as an offset to the possible loss of the slave-holding states. To which I replied that I could not precisely recollect what speech of yours was referred to, but that from my personal knowledge of the tenor of most of them, I would confidently affirm that any such reasoning was in its essence speculative, and had reference to the probable course of future events without in any way involving the adoption of a distinct line of aggressive policy to bring them about either now or hereafter. I knew that I had entertained similar notions, but I was very sure that a war to effect any artificial result was never in my contemplation. A conquest either as against Great Britain or the people of the Colonies was the very last way to realize it. It was wholly inconsistent with our doctrines. Here his Lordship expressed doubts and instanced the case of Texas and Mexico. I admitted the exception as valid, but observed that it had been brought about under the adverse influence of the very power now in arms against

our authority. It was one of the causes which had brought on the present difficulties. The present Government would not be disposed to rely on it as a precedent.

I then remarked that my Despatches enabled me now to assure him that the act of Captain Wilkes had not been authorized by the Government, and further that they would reserve themselves perfectly free to act upon it until they should hear from this side of the water. If Her Majesty's Ministers were disposed to enter upon the subject with a view to an amicable adjustment, they would be met in an equally friendly spirit. His Lordship expressed his gratification on receiving this information. He had himself little doubt in regard to the first point ever since learning from me the nature of the instructions given to the Commander of the *James Adger*. The other point was likewise important, inasmuch as it removed the danger of committal prior to the moment when the views of the Government should be presented on the part of Great Britain.

I then proposed, as a means of fully bringing to his Lordship's knowledge the real spirit of the Government of the United States, that he should let me read to him a Despatch exactly as I had received it. A judgment might be fully formed of it in this way, inasmuch as the paper had recapitulated the various grounds of misunderstanding and complaint. His Lordship said he should be glad to hear it, so I read all the Despatch No. 136 but the first paragraph personal to myself. After I had concluded His Lordship touched on two of the points there made. The second being the case of Mr. Bunch, having been already settled in the correspondence that has taken place, was of course omitted by him. In regard to the others his representations, I must concede, carried with them much force. He admitted that the opinion of the Attorney-General on the Enlistment Act, upon which alone they could draw an authority to interfere, was adverse to the application of a restriction in cases where the *intent* to carry arms and supplies illegally was not fully established. But he observed that on the other hand it was well known that much greater quantities of arms and supplies had been transmitted from Great Britain by the authorities of the United States, without let or hindrance. The facilities of the latter in obtaining them safely were so much

greater than on the whole it seemed to him the advantage if any was on their side. I confess I could not answer this argument. The consciousness of this truth has impaired my energies in making remonstrances from the outset. Neither did I seek to disguise my impression from his Lordship.

On the third point his Lordship contested the fact as stated in the Despatch. He recapitulated what the Government had done as regards the assistance said to have been rendered to privateers in the Colonies. Supplies had been refused by the authorities in all cases. Whatever had been obtained had come from purchases of individuals. The only difference that he could find between the action of this Government and that of other nations was that the stay of belligerent vessels was confined by the latter to twenty-four hours. As to that, he said that the omission to insert the same provision in the British orders was by no means owing to unfriendliness to the United States. On the contrary, it was thought that, if a Government vessel of theirs should put into any port, such as Malta, for example, to stay a short time, it had seemed to them churlish to issue a decree to limit it to a single day. He said he had taken some pains to make inquiries as to the action of other Governments, and so far as he could learn he found it in other respects substantially the same.

In conclusion, I expressed the opinion that at best there was nothing in all this to make a moment's difficulty between countries really well disposed to one another. The only serious trouble was in the case of the *Trent*. And as that was not a matter of discussion on this side of the water, I should content myself simply with asking his Lordship, but not in any official capacity, to give me such information respecting the position of that question, as he felt at liberty to communicate, in order that I might form for myself a judgment of the arrangements which it would be necessary for me to prepare. If I were to draw my conclusions from the tone of the newspapers supposed to be in the confidence of the Government, I should be obliged to infer that war was inevitable and immediate. I was anxious to correct these impressions if there was any room left for me to do so.

His Lordship then went into an explanation of the measures taken by the Government, which it is needless to recapitulate,

as you know them already. The conclusion which I drew was that if both Governments were really bent on preserving the peace there was nothing in the nature of the difference itself to produce a war between them. But nations have been so often precipitated into difficulties by circumstances having no necessary connection with the causes of offence that I find myself compelled to await the development of events rather than attempt to waste time in predicting a result.

I have the honor to be, etc.

C. F. ADAMS.

MOTLEY TO ADAMS

LEGATION OF THE U. S. AMERICA, VIENNA, December 20, '61.

MY DEAR SIR: I was exceedingly obliged to you for your very interesting letter of 4 December, and perhaps you will hardly think that I am taking a becoming way of manifesting my gratitude, by writing so soon again, and again asking for a line or two in reply. When I wrote to you three weeks ago, it was under the excitement of the first announcement by telegram that England had sent a peremptory demand to Washington. That demand, if expressed in the terms and tone indicated by the journals, which we know to be in the confidence of, and very subservient to, the Prime Minister, seemed little short of a declaration of war, to take effect within a limited period.

Your letter was very satisfactory to me, and I have great pleasure in expressing my hearty concurrence with all you say. To accept war with England now if we can avoid it with honor, seems little short of madness. It hardly needs an argument to show the disastrous results of our providing the South with so potent an alliance as the fleets and armies of England will be for her. Strange enough, that on the first day of Congress it should have been voted to thank the man whose blunder has placed the country in such a perilous dilemma. I take great pleasure in feeling sure from the tone of your letter to me, that you have given the Government the most sagacious and statesmanlike counsels in this grave emergency. I shall not renounce the hope that prudence and dignity and real patriot-

ism will silence the clamors of passion—until the possibility of hope is taken away.

The American Government has now an opportunity—such as is rarely afforded—to manifest to the world that it is not subservient to the mob (according to the calumnies of its enemies), and that it is capable of holding on to the lofty principles of international law which it has always maintained. To my mind there could be no more legitimate triumph for us than thus to rebuke the tyranny which Great Britain, when belligerent, has ever exercised over neutrals, and over us most of all. Still, I see infinite difficulties in the way—for to give up the commissioners without procuring the *adhesion* of England to the principle on which such surrender is founded, would hardly be compatible with our character or our future safety. I don't desire that we should now adopt the Lynch law always practiced on the ocean by England in place of our own time honored principles—but it is necessary to protect ourselves in future against a despotism which, on the seas, has ever been as unscrupulous as any of the tyrannies which, *on land*, England permits herself so loudly to rebuke. I take some consolation from the prudence manifested by the President in his silence. Silence was never more golden than at this moment. At any rate there will be time for the Government to get your dispatches, and it is with the utmost sincerity that I express to you the comfort it gives me to reflect that we have a minister in England, at this moment, so able and so high-minded. I could say a *great deal more*, but I don't wish to have the appearance of a flatterer, and so will content myself with repeating my conviction that the interests and honor of the country could not be in purer or abler hands.

You may suppose that I am anxious enough at this moment. I am so isolated, and so in the dark. Even now I am ignorant as to the precise terms of the English demand, and of the instructions to Lord Lyons in the premises. I know nothing except what I see in the newspapers, and can learn from my colleagues.

Would it be asking too much to request you to let me know exactly what the English Government has demanded, how long Lord Lyons is to wait for answer, and whether, if he leaves be-

cause of not obtaining the commissioners, a declaration of war is at once to follow, or whether the English will entertain the notion of arbitration, or still better, of a general conference of the maritime Powers for the purpose of revising the international code, and including the present case under such provisions.

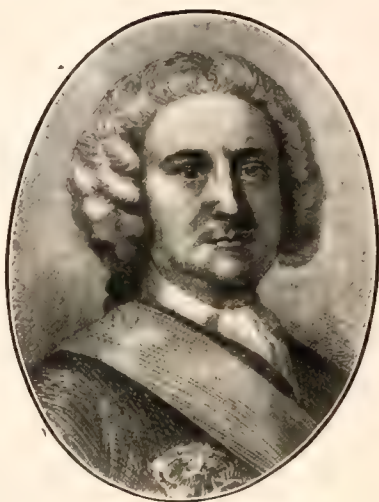
The dispatch of Earl Russell to Lord Lyons can be no secret—for the French ambassador told me that he had received an epitome of it. Count Rechberg [Prime Minister from 1859 to 1864] has also a copy of it, and, of course, Lord Bloomfield [second Baron Bloomfield, who served as British Ambassador to the Emperor of Austria from November 22, 1860, to October 28, 1871]. It seems rather hard that the person in Vienna most deeply interested in the matter should be in the dark, but it would not be agreeable to me, even if it were feasible, to ask any of these gentlemen to enlighten me as to what I am supposed to know, at least as well as they.

If you could find time to write me half a dozen lines, letting me know, as far as you feel authorized to do so, what has been written to Washington, and, furthermore, what language has been held on the subject, by word of mouth, as well as writing, either in Washington or London since, you may rely on my entire discretion. I hope that you will not think me importunate in making this appeal *ad misericordiam*. You certainly will not suppose that I desire to interfere, in the least, with your functions, by even a word of advice. But we are so inexpressibly anxious, and I am so much in the dark, except so far as my course is lighted by the noxious and misguiding exhalations of the London press, that I am forced to intrude upon you, and more than I otherwise should do. It would be a great satisfaction if I could come into Mansfield Street, for an occasional half-hour's talk.

I maintain the best relations with the English ambassador here, and shall continue to do so, as long as circumstances will permit. He is an amiable and excellent man, and as sincerely desirous as I am, that the impending war should be averted. Of course we cannot enter much into the *merits* of the case, nor is it either his affair or mine—but their sympathies, when I first arrived here were fully with the North, and I can't but think that

there must be many in England who will feel disgusted, when they find themselves engaged in an alliance offensive and defensive, with the slaveholders. The Austrian Government is most earnest in deprecating the war. The minister of foreign affairs is very anxious. The French ambassador assures me that there is not the slightest possibility of his Government taking the part of England—but that absolute neutrality will be maintained. I am assured by private letters from Paris, that this neutrality, so difficult to preserve, will be sympathetic, not to England but to America. I think I understand the series of party intrigues in England which has at last caused the Government to seize upon this pretext for raising a popular war cry in order to maintain a moribund ministry, or to effect a coalition. But I forbear to touch on the subject on which you are so much better informed. I have no desire, either, to characterize the conduct of England towards us—as manifested by its press and its public men—with a few honorable exceptions. It would be difficult to do it, without using more violent and passionate epithets than I feel inclined, just now, to indulge in. I hope however that our Government will have the wisdom to frustrate the foul intrigue by which England is seeking our destruction, in this crisis of our history, and to parry the blow which she is aiming at our heart.

J. L. MOTLEY.



SIR PETER WARREN



SIR CHARLES HARDY



DAVID HOSACK

Places and People of Old New York



COL. MARINUS WILLETT

Places and People of Old New York

BY CHARLES B. HALL

The old prints used in illustrating this article are from the author's private collection.

I

THE OLD BROAD STREET CANAL

IN the early days of New York, when doghty Peter Stuyvesant administered Holland's rule in the colony, Broad street was the most picturesque and truly Dutch thoroughfare in town. It was originally a ditch or inlet, known as the *Breede Graft*, or Broad Canal. Along it were built some of the best houses, whose hospitable exteriors were centers of family life during the warm summer evenings—the father smoking his pipe, the mother knitting, the children playing and romping about until darkness drove them to early rest. Friend or neighbor who happened abroad was here invited to sit down and discuss the topics of the day which occupied the sturdy people.

The street was then marshy ground. Through the middle a ditch was made and developed into that pride of the Dutchman's heart, a canal, which was dyked in 1657-59, as shown in the engraving. The walks along either side were paved with keystones in 1660, each resident paving the portion before his own door. These became favorite promenades—probably from the fact that the little community typified to the burghers similar streets in their beloved Amsterdam.

Its commercial importance in those days was, if anything, superior to its social attractions, for here was heard the cry

“Ahoy!”, the gratings of boats along the landing, and the hum of market gardeners from Brooklyn, Bergen, and other points. A bridge crossed it, giving the name to the present Bridge street, and in the neighborhood stood the principal buildings of interest to the merchant—the weighhouse, the West India Company’s storehouse, and the house where merchandize was taken in and discharged. These as well as the canal long ago disappeared, and Broad street to-day reechoes with the shrill noises of a populous business city.

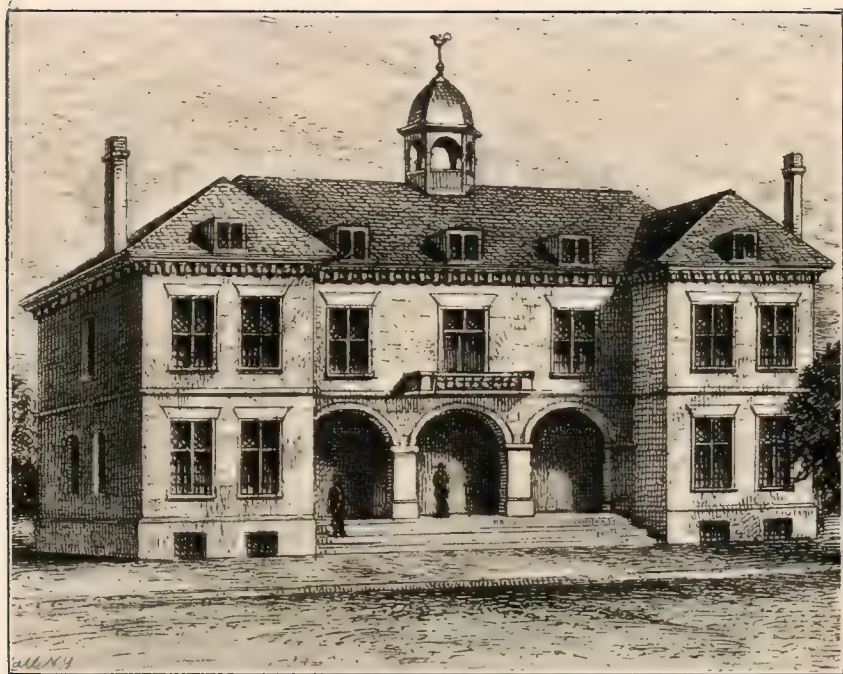
II

DAVID HOSACK, M. D., LL.D.

For forty years prior to his death in December, 1835, Dr. Hosack was one of New York’s skilful physicians and beneficent educators. No figure of his time stands out more prominently in the annals of the city.

The son of a Scotch artillery officer who was present at the siege and capture of Louisburg in 1758, he was born in New York in August, 1769, and studied medicine with Dr. Richard Bayley and under distinguished professors abroad, notably in London and Edinburgh. Upon his return in 1794 he brought the first collection of minerals ever seen in America, and, also, the collection of duplicate specimens of plants from the herbarium of Linnæus, which became the property of the New York Lyceum of Natural History. The next year he was appointed professor of botany in Columbia College, and in 1797 the chair of materia medica was also assigned to him. He filled both chairs until 1807, when he accepted that of materia medica and midwifery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1826 he was one of the founders of the old Rutgers Medical College of New York.

In 1801 he established the famous Elgin Botanical Gardens—the second in the United States—which in 1814 were purchased by the State of New York and given to Columbia College. In 1804 he aided founding the New York Historical Society, and the same year he attended Alexander Hamilton after the historic



Old City Hall, New York



The Old Canal, Broad Street

Places and People of Old New York

duel with Burr. He was a noted patron of art, a founder of the American Academy of Fine Arts, and a voluminous writer in the artistic style of Johnson. His medical essays, in three volumes, became classics.

He is described by Dr. Mott as having "a tall, bulky form, piercing black eyes, and a sonorous voice," while a contemporary says "he was never without an interesting case." He certainly proved himself," says one writer, "an exemplar of the American physician advanced to the highest point of culture, with but few peers at home or abroad."

III

RESIDENCE OF MARINUS WILLETT

Colonel Marinus Willett's destruction in Revolutionary annals rests partly upon a daring encounter with His Majesty's officers at the corner of Broad and Beaver streets, New York, on June 6, 1775, when he sprang in front of the "Royal Irish" regiment and stopped the horse drawing five carts loaded with chests of arms which the British were conveying to their frigate "Asia." After an altercation Willett boldly jumped into the first cart, turned it about, and amid cheers, drove it up Broadway, followed by the others. Afterward the arms thus held up were used by the first patriot troops raised in New York. A tablet bearing appropriate inscriptions, a fine medallion of Willett, and a picture of the troops, the encounter, the houses, and the city hall was placed opposite the spot in November, 1892, by the Sons of the Revolution.

Colonel Willett's residence, as shown in the engraving, was one of the handsomest in New York, and in every respect a delightful home. Its stately appearance and beautiful surroundings were almost as noted as its patriotic owner.

Born in Jamaica, Long Island, July 31, 1740, he served under Abercrombie in 1758, graduated from King's (Columbia) College, and became an eminent "Son of Liberty." He was an officer in the New York militia from 1775 to 1778, sheriff of New

York county in 1784-92, mayor of the city in 1807-08, active in the War of 1812, and president of the electoral college in 1824. He died August 22, 1830. He was a great-great-grandson of Thomas Willett, a member of the Pilgrim colony at Plymouth and the first mayor of the City of New York in 1665-67.

IV

SIR CHARLES HARDY

Of the successive royal governors in New York during the pre-Revolutionary troubles Sir Charles Hardy probably knew less of administrative duties and more of seafaring life than any of the others. Nevertheless he filled the office with much credit and indelibly stamped himself upon the history of the time.

He was appointed "captain-general and commander-in-chief" January 29, 1755, being at that time about fifty years of age and a captain in the royal navy. His Majesty must have knighted him soon afterward, for his first communication from the Lords of Trade, dated August 12, was addressed to "Sir Charles Hardy, Knight." He had been in America before, and had been appointed governor of Newfoundland in 1744.

Sir Charles arrived at New York in the "Sphynx" on September 2, 1755, and reluctantly but satisfactorily performed his duties as governor until June 3, 1757, when he was relieved at his own request and returned to the navy. His chief adviser while in office was former Lieutenant-Governor James de Lancey, Clinton's persistent enemy, who, under Hardy, resumed the chief justiceship.

In 1758 Sir Charles, who had been made rear-admiral of the white, took part in the siege and capture of Louisburg, and subsequently attained the rank of vice-admiral. He was appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1771, and died in 1780, at the age of seventy-five. He was among the largest donors of King's (now Columbia) College, and himself laid the corner-stone of the original structure in August, 1756.

V

BURN'S COFFEE HOUSE

This famous tavern disputed with Faneuil Hall the right to the title of the "Cradle of Liberty." Built for a family mansion by Etienne de Lancy about 1700, it was of gray stone, two stories high, with arched windows opened to the floor and a cupola surmounting the roof. From its piazza and garden in the rear the ground sloped gently to the Hudson, giving a grand view of the Jersey shore and the Orange Mountains beyond.

It was opened by Edward Willett as the "Province Arms" in 1754, and became the headquarters for important social and official entertainments. Its "Long Room" was the scene of many notable gatherings. In 1763 it witnessed William Johnson's experiments in electricity. And here on October 31, 1765, was adopted and signed, by upwards of two hundred merchants, the first "non-importation agreement" in the colonies—an act which laid the foundation of American manufactures. Here also was formed the first committee of correspondence, and alas! it became the temporary lodging-place of Benedict Arnold after his desertion to the enemy.

For several years it was kept by George Burns, and later by Bolton, and still later by Hull, and bore the name of the "City Arms" from its quaint old sign. Officers of the British army and navy made it their favorite haunt during the Revolution. Finally it passed into the possession of John Capes, a patriotic Boniface, who replaced the ancient sign by a new one bearing the arms of the State of New York.

The Boreel building now stands on the site.

VI

SIR PETER WARREN, R. M.

Among colonial New Yorkers the name of Sir Peter Warren, Knight of the Bath, Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of the British fleet, and member of Parliament for Westminster, was

held in high esteem—not alone for his maritime and political achievements, but also because of his supreme influence at the Court of Saint James.

A descendant of an ancient Irish family, he was born in 1702, entered the royal navy in 1727, and rapidly rose to the rank of commodore. In this capacity he gained a notable triumph at the taking of Louisburg in 1745, capturing with his blockading squadron the French relief ship “Vigilant” and taking possession of the town on June 17. For this he was knighted. He was the only prominent New Yorker who contributed to Massachusetts’s greatest colonial victory. In 1747 he also defeated the French in action off Cape Finisterre.

Sir Peter was a brother-in-law of Chief Justice James de Lancey, having married Susannah, eldest daughter of Stephen de Lancey. He owned a large tract of land in the Mohawk region, which he placed in charge of his nephew, the remarkable Indian manipulator, Sir William Johnson. His town house and estate, including the celebrated Vauxhall garden at the foot of Warren street, constituted one of the finest properties in the infant metropolis. He dabbled in politics effectively, much to the discomfort of Governor George Clinton, especially in the latter’s opposition to Chief Justice de Lancey. He was a member of Clinton’s Council.

He died in Ireland, July 29, 1752, and in Westminster Abbey a handsome monument was erected to his memory by his wife. He gave £100 toward the building of Saint George’s Chapel, on the corner of Cliff and Beekman streets, New York, and a pew was assigned to him, but he never occupied it.

VII

THE CITY HALL ON WALL STREET

By the close of the seventeenth century Stuyvesant’s “Stadt Huys” of 1642 was crumbling to decay and new municipal quarters became imperative. Abraham de Peyster gave a plot of ground on the northeast corner of Wall and Broad streets, Lord Bellomont donated some material from the old fort, and in 1699

Mayor David Provoost laid the corner-stone of a new City Hall, which was finished in 1700. On this site now stands the United States sub-treasury building.

This City Hall was the finest public edifice in the town. Built of brick with two wings, its cellar was a dungeon, its ground floor an "open walk," its garret a common prison. And for more than a century it was the center of municipal life, its weather-beaten figure of Justice looking down upon the growing city. The "Stamp Act Congress" assembled here in October, 1765. In the Revolution the British used it as a military prison house. The Continental Congress met within its walls in 1785, in the main hall or "Congress chamber," whose walls were adorned with portraits of Washington and the King and Queen of France. In 1788 Major L'Enfant was commissioned to remodel it, and thereafter it was "Federal Hall" to the proud people of a free country. It cost about \$65,000.

On its balcony, where the Declaration of Independence had been read in 1776, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, on April 30, 1789, administered the presidential oath to George Washington, who thereupon kissed a London Bible (1767) containing a portrait of George II, and owned by Saint John's Lodge of Freemasons; and a flag on the cupola signalled for thundering guns and ringing bells.

This historic "Federal" building remained the National Capitol until the autumn of 1790 and the State Capital until January, 1798. After the erection of the present City Hall (1803-04) it gave place to the United States sub-treasury. All that remains of the old edifice is the stone pedestal of Washington's statue, on which it is said he stood while taking the oath of office.

The Cushing Monument

THE monument which will be erected to the memory of the three heroic Cushing brothers, through efforts of the Waukesha County Historical Society, will be placed near the log house in which William B. Cushing, forever famous as the destroyer of the rebel ram "Albatross," was born, a short distance west of the village of Delafield, Wis.

Judge George H. Noyes of Milwaukee, a former Delafield boy, has offered to donate a site of three acres on which to place the monument. Albert Alden, who now owns the former Cushing farm, will donate a right of way to the site. The citizens of Delafield will build the road and bridge over the Bark river necessary to make the site accessible.

The state of Wisconsin has appropriated \$5,000 for the Cushings monument and Congressman H. A. Cooper has introduced a bill in Congress appropriating an additional \$10,000 for the same purpose.

Judge Noyes, who was to have made an address at the last meeting of the Society was not able to be present, but had written something of his opinions concerning the monument project and his offer of a site, and this letter was read by Dr. A. J. W. Nixon of Delafield. Judge Noyes wrote in part as follows:

"Nothing very substantial has been done, as I understand, toward securing the appropriation made by the legislature of the State at its last session for the erection of a monument to William B. Cushing at his birthplace in the town of Delafield. No time was fixed in the act within which its erection is to be accomplished. Nevertheless it would seem to be important that something should be done without further delay. The next leg-

islature will soon convene and what may be the views of its members as to economy, appropriations, or any other subject, cannot be foretold. Delays are dangerous. It would be a great misfortune to Waukesha county, and particularly to Delafield, should this act be repealed or materially amended so as to jeopardize the project in any way.

“The birthplace of William B. Cushing is well known. The log house in which he was born seventy years ago stood on a slightly spot on the banks of the river a short distance to the west of the village. Many of us remember it well. I worked on the farm, upon which it remained standing, for two years or more and during all of one winter while attending school at the village, when a boy in 1863-4, I daily, at the noon hour, passed by on my way to the barn located just beyond, to feed the young stock kept on that farm. In going to and fro I walked over the little bridge built by the Cushings across the river to enable them to visit their neighbors or relatives living on the other side.

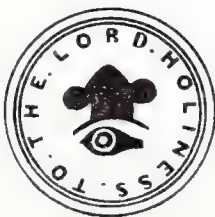
“Thus I have a peculiar interest in the site of the birthplace of William B. Cushing and a special desire to have it selected as the site of a monument to his memory. No other site would be as appropriate as the exact spot of the location of the house in which he was born, and I trust it may be selected at the earliest date practicable, which if possible should be at the meeting of the Society on the 5th inst.

“I do not know what area the Society may think necessary for the monument and its surroundings, but it would seem that three acres of land abutting on the river, the external boundaries to be agreed upon, would be ample for all purposes as a site. This I am willing to pay for and donate to the Society, provided the right of way to the site is donated to and accepted by the Society and the three acres are selected as the place for the erection of the monument and steps are taken at once to proceed to its erection.

“These preliminaries having been settled, immediate steps should be taken to raise by subscription from residents of the town of Delafield, present and past, an adequate sum to build a suitable roadway and bridge with fences and whatever else may

be necessary to improve and complete the project. That this may be readily accomplished seems reasonable to expect."

Mrs. Julia A. Lapham, Secretary of the Waukesha County Historical Society, whose article, "The Three Cushing Brothers," appeared in the April number of *AMERICANA*, desires to make a correction of a mistake in her paper. The statement was made that Alonzo Cushing was born in Milwaukee. It should have read that he was born in Delafield. In a paper written by T. W. Haight, on "Three Wisconsin Cushings," the author says: "Alonzo was also born on the Delafield farm, as shown by a Bible lately brought to light. Until this discovery, his birth had been credited to Milwaukee, like that of his elder brother, Howard."



History of the Moumon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE FOUNDING OF MISSIONS 1849

THE activities of the Latter-day Saints through their Church in the period, to which our historical narrative has now brought us—1849—were in marked but unconscious antithesis to the spirit of their fellow countrymen of the United States. I say unconscious antithesis because neither in the annals of the Church in the period referred to, nor in our literature since that time, do I remember to have seen anything that leads me to believe that the Saints were then conscious of the antithesis, nor are they conscious of it now.

At the time period referred to, the people of the United States—to give the antithesis no broader scope—were gold crazed, and engaged in a mad rush for the gold-fields of California. On the other hand, though some of their representatives were present when gold was discovered in California, were the first to extend the area of that discovery, had participated in some of the richest finds on the American River, and had brought considerable quantities of the precious metal to the Salt Lake Valley settlements until gold dust and certain stamped disks of gold, ranging in value from \$2.50 pieces to \$20 pieces were used as mediums of exchange—called the state of Deseret coinage of gold, meant only for local use however¹—notwithstanding all this, and the further fact that large communities of Latter-day

1. See note 1 end of Chapter on Early Utah Currency and Coinage.

Saints were comparatively adjacent to these gold fields—a very few individuals aside—the Latter-Day Saints were unmoved by the gold-fever excitement, and were held to the high community purposes of colonizing semi-desert valleys; to gathering their co-religionists from the Missouri frontiers to these same valleys; and to sending the message of the new dispensation of the gospel to very many nations, and to the islands of the seas.

In the work of gathering their co-religionists from the Missouri frontiers—their fellow exiles from Illinois, too poor to make the journey to the valleys without the assistance of their more fortunate brethren—the saints in the valleys of Utah contributed both time and means on a large scale; but in this they were reminded that they were but fulfilling the obligations entered into at Nauvoo before the exodus began.² It was in this year of grace, 1849, however, that what was known afterwards as “The Perpetual Emigration Fund” was established. It had for its purpose, first, the removal to the mountains of all the worthy Latter-day Saints exiled from Illinois, who desired to gather the main body of the church, and after that to extend aid to the worthy poor among the saints throughout the world.

The “perpetual” feature of the plan was to be maintained by those who received aid from this Emigrating fund returning “the same, in labor or otherwise, as soon as their circumstances will admit,” and “with interest if required,”³ in order that the means might be used again to aid others; which arrangement if followed out, with additions made by new contributions from time to time by those philanthropically inclined, was calculated not only to make the fund perpetual but constantly increase its

2. A covenant was proposed by Brigham Young in the Nauvoo Temple to the effect that “We take all the Saints with us, to the extent of our ability, that is, our influence and our property.” This History, Ch. LIX.

The spirit in which the call for subscriptions to the Emigrating Fund was responded to in Salt Lake Valley may be judged by the following incident related by Lorenzo Snow, one of a committee appointed to collect it: “One man insisted that I should take his only cow, saying that the Lord had delivered him, and blessed him in leaving the old country and coming to a land of peace; and giving his only cow, he felt that he would only do what duty demanded, and what he would expect from others, were the situation reversed.” (Biography and Autobiography of Lorenzo Snow—1884—p. 108).

3. Section 16 of the act of incorporation of the “Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company,” and note of obligation signed by those receiving aid from the Fund, Liverpool Route, 1855, pp. 10, 11. Also note 2 end of chapter.

means, and by that also increase its power for good in its chosen and very necessary field of activity.

The measure taken by the Church to send forth her message to nations wherein it had never yet been proclaimed, and which activity forms part of the contrast between the Saints and the world of that period—the antithesis I am here considering—were astonishingly large, all circumstances considered.

The choice of three members of the Apostles quorum to form the First Presidency, and disfellowshipping Lyman Wight, another of the apostles,⁴ had made four vacancies in that quorum, and these vacancies on the 12th of February were filled by the selection and ordination of Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards.⁵ This circumstance of filling these vacancies in the apostalate is mentioned preliminary to recounting the missionary movements of the church began in 1849, because these new members are to take prominent parts in those movements.

The Mission of Elders Lyman and Rich in California: At the general conference held in October⁶ Charles C. Rich was appointed to join Elder Amasa M. Lyman who had been in California since April previous, and assist him in the Presidency of the mission in "Western California," as the Pacific slope of the Sierras was then called; and to succeed Elder Lyman in the presidency of the mission when the latter should return to Salt Lake City. The Mission of Elders Lyman and Rich in Western California, resulted in establishing something like discipline among the scattered church members on the Pacific slope; and ultimately, about two years later, in the purchase of the San Bernardino Rancho, a tract of country of from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand acres of land in what has since proved to be one of the richest fruit growing regions of southern Cali-

4. "On the 3rd of December, 1848, at a meeting held in the Fort (i. e. Salt Lake City) fellowship was withdrawn from Lyman Wight, one of the Twelve Apostles, and George Miller, Bishop (Hist. of the ch.—Cannon—*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 134. Also *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 246. Lyman Wight was then in Texas in which state, he died March 31, 1858.

5. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.* Bk. 4, p. 6. Entry for Feb. 12, 1849. "I [Brigham Young] was mouth in the ordination of Elder Rich and E. Snow; Bro. Kimball in the ordination of Elders L. Snow and F. D. Richards." See also an appended note *Ibid.*, p. 17.

6. The minutes of this conference are published in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, pp. 131-135.

fornia.⁷ In the fall of 1851 a company of about five hundred souls from Salt Lake Valley removed to this rancho for the purpose of settlement,⁸ and it was designed also that the immigration from the British Isles should be diverted to that region *via* of the Gulf of Mexico across the "Isthmus of Panama, Tehuantepec" or some of the interior routes, and land them at San Diego, and thus save three thousand miles of inland navigation through a most sickly climate and country."⁹ It was also intended that this settlement on the Pacific slope would be the western terminus of a line of settlements over the eight hundred miles of country between that point and Salt Lake City.

These several enterprises connected with the opening of this California mission gave great promise of large success, but a few years later the mission was disrupted by an event, the consideration of which belongs to a subsequent chapter.

Addison Pratt's mission to the Society Islands in the South Pacific Ocean: "It was moved and seconded that Elder Addison Pratt, James Brown, and Hiram H. Blackwell, go to the Society Islands to preach the gospel. Carried." Such the action of the conference of October 6th, 1849; and shortly afterwards these men left the valley on their way to the Islands. Sometime previous to starting upon this mission Addison Pratt, who had been a faithful Elder for many years, but on account of his absence on previous missions in the South Pacific Islands had not

7. The two Elders making the purchase describe the tract as follows: "The soil is rich; the water and timber abundant. We are situated about one hundred miles from San Diego, seventy miles from the seaport of San Pedro, and fifty miles from Pueblo de los Angeles." Letter of Lyman and Rich, December 10, 1851. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, pp. 75-6.

8. See Lyman-Rich Letter, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, p. 75. The *Los Angeles Star* for May 31st of that year thus announced the arrival of the Mormons in Southern California: "We learn that 150 Mormon families are at Canon pass, sixty miles south of this city, on their way here from Deseret. These families, it is said, intend to settle in this valley, and to make it their permanent home. We cannot yet give full credit to these statements, because they do not come to us fully authenticated. But if it be true that Mormons are coming in such numbers to settle among us, we shall, as good and industrious citizens, extend to them a friendly welcome."

9. General Epistle of the Presidency under dates of Apl. 7, 1851, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, pp. 209-216. Also Letter of Lyman and Rich above, note 6. The Presidency of the British Mission, under instructions from the First Presidency investigated this route of Emigration, but it was found impracticable and emigration was resumed over the old route *via* Kanesville. ("*Liverpool Route*," 1855, p. 10). Lyman and Rich in describing the purpose of their settlement on the *Rancho de San Bernardino* say, "Our location here is made in view of forwarding the gathering of the Saints from abroad, and from Europe in particular, by this route, should we be enabled to settle in this country as we wish." (See Letter cited above).

had an opportunity to receive the endowment ceremonies of the Temple, was taken to the summit of Ensign Peak and there received those sacred ordinances, the mountain being dedicated especially for that purpose.¹⁰ This action was in harmony with the instructions of the Prophet in Nauvoo when he said that these ordinances of the temple under certain circumstances might be obtained "on the mountain top, as did Moses."¹¹

This mission of Addison Pratt's was but a renewal of his labors in the Pacific Islands, previously mentioned in these pages; but his second advent among the natives of those islands, with his new companions was not only a renewal but an enlargement of the work which has continued without abatement until the present, resulting in the conversion of tens of thousands of those people to a true faith in God, and an acceptance of the Christ as the Redeemer of the world.

Elder Lorenzo Snow's Mission to Italy: It was "moved and carried" by this October 1849 General Conference of the Church that "Lorenzo Snow and Joseph Toronto go on a mission to Italy." And they accordingly went and opened the door of the gospel to that nation. Progress in introducing the gospel into Italy was at first slow, that being a Catholic country, with religious liberty at the time somewhat restricted. Yet within eleven months of his departure from Salt Lake Valley, Elder Snow succeeded in effecting an organization of the Church in Italy. During a sojourn in London—Elder Snow years before had been a missionary in the world's metropolis—Elders T. H.

10. President Young's account of the incident is as follows: "Addison Pratt received his endowments on Ensign Hill on the 21st, the place being consecrated for the purpose. Myself and Elders Isaac Morley, P. P. Pratt, L. Snow, E. Snow, C. C. Rich and F. D. Richards, Levi W. Hancock, Henry Harriman and J. M. Grant being present. President H. C. Kimball, Bishop N. K. Witney and Elder John Taylor came after the ordinances were attended to. Elders C. C. Rich and O. Pratt were blessed by all, President Kimball being mouth." Hist. of Brigham Young Bk. 4, Ms. p. 107). Thus a new sanctity was given to this prominent mount. "In the side of the mountain" group which overlooks Salt Lake City from the north. A very fine view of this now sacred mountain in the engraving of Great Salt Lake Valley from the painting by Mr. Culmer, published in the August number of Americana, ch. LXXI, this History. The mount is on the upper right hand of the engraving.

11. Journal entry *Sunday, May 1st, 1842*: I preached in the grove on the keys of the kingdom, charity, etc. The keys are certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed. The rich can only get them in the Temple, the poor may get them on the mountain top as did Moses." (Documentary History of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 608).

B. Stenhouse and Jabez Woodard were added to the Italian mission, and these, with Elders Snow and Toronto, for a time constituted the "church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Italy," which they, on the 19th of September, 1850, in formal manner, and with great rejoicing, organized on the summit of a mountain over-looking the Piedmont valley, a short distance from La Tour, and which they named "Mt. Brigham." About one month later baptisms began, and ultimately resulted in the organization of a branch of the church among the Waldenses at La Tour and vicinity, with John D. Malan, President. Joseph Toronto, a native of Sicily, in the early months of the mission, visited his relatives in that island, but could make no impression with his message.

Elder Stenhouse was sent by Elder Snow to Switzerland to open the work in that country. He began his labors in Geneva, but later extended them to the city of Lausanne, and succeeded in baptizing a number of converts in both these cities. He was twice visited by Elder Snow, and by their conjoint labors the mission was founded which remains to this day, and is one of the most fruitful missions maintained by the Church.

Elder Snow with the assistance of Elders Woodard and Thomas O Bray, the latter as well as the former from England, introduced the new dispensation of the Gospel on the Island of Malta, south of Sicily, where a branch of the Church was organized in June, 1852. Elder Snow regarded Malta as "a most important field of labor, where a great work may be accomplished, extending to adjacent nations." "The organization of a branch of the Church here," he remarks, "would lessen the spiritual fetters of many nations, as the Maltese in their commercial relations are spread along the shores of Europe, Asia and Africa." Indeed Elder Snow from this island raised his eyes to empire conquests in his missionary enterprises. In the October conference of 1849, replying to the question "Can Lorenzo Snow dictate anywhere but in Italy?" President Young answered; "Yes. The Twelve dictate in all the world. We have appointed Lorenzo and Erastus Snow to certain missions, have they a right to go anywhere else? Yes; I wish they would open the door to every nation on earth."¹² Acting under this extended

12. Minutes of the Conference, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 133.

authorization Elder Snow conceived the idea of introducing the gospel into several countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, including Russia, Turkey, and Spain. Meeting with a brother in England who had lived several years in India, he conceived the idea of opening the door of the gospel in that country by sending him and others with authority to preach the gospel, himself to follow later to give apostolic sanction to their work. Conferring with his fellow apostles in England upon the subject they sanctioned his suggestions and Elder William Willis was sent to Calcutta, where a few days after his arrival he baptized nine natives of the East Indies. Subsequently he baptized three hundred natives, and raised up a branch of the church among the Europeans of over forty members.¹³ About the same time Elder Hugh Findlay, president of the Hull conference, England, was sent to Bombay, by Elder Snow; and a little later Elder Joseph Richards was sent to the assistance of Elder Willis at Calcutta. It was the purpose of Elder Snow, as already stated, to visit these distant countries himself, and then accomplish the circumnavigation of the globe by returning to Salt Lake Valley "by way of San Francisco, San Diego, and our newly established settlements in the valleys of California."¹⁴

Such his plans for the extension of missionary work both for himself and others; but while waiting at Malta for a vessel in which to begin the journey to India he received his release from the church authorities at Salt Lake City, as his labors and influence were needed in Utah. Leaving Elder Stenhouse as president of the Swiss Mission; Elder Woodard, of the mission in Italy; Elder O Bray, of the mission in Malta; and Elder Willis, of the mission in India, Elder Snow returned to Utah *via* of England and the United States.

While on this mission Elder Snow published in the French language—much in use both in Piedmont and Switzerland—"*The Voice of Joseph*," chiefly a compilation of historical *data* covering the rise and progress of the new dispensation from the beginning of the work with the visions of Joseph Smith to the arrival of the exiled Saints in the valley of the Great Salt

13. Report of the Church Historian 1880, in the Utah Pioneer, p. 26.

14. Snow's Autobiography, p. 199.

Lake.¹⁵ Later he wrote and published another tract for his mission, "*The Ancient Gospel Restored*," published in a first edition under the title "*The Only Way to be Saved*."¹⁶ The latter pamphlet was afterwards translated into Bengalee and Hindostanee. Elder Snow also superintended the translation of the Book of Mormon into Italian; and had the happiness of seeing it published in that language before leaving his mission.¹⁷

Mission of Erastus Snow to Scandinavia. The conference of 1849 sent the then newly ordained Apostle, Erastus Snow, to open the door of the Gospel to the Scandinavian countries. He was accompanied from Salt Lake by Peter O. Hansen, a native of Denmark; and Elder John Forsgren, a native of Sweden. In England the mission was joined by George P. Dykes, an American Elder, then on a mission in that land. He was Lieutenant in company "D" of the Mormon Battalion during its march to California, and for a time Adjutant to Col. Cooke. Elder Hansen was the first of the mission to arrive in Copenhagen, where the others arrived on the 14th of June, 1850. By August 12th, Elder Snow baptized in that city fifteen persons, and on September 15, organized a branch of the Church composed of fifty members.

"Elders John Forsgren was sent to Gefle, in the north of Sweden, where he baptized twenty persons, for which he was arrested and sent to Stockholm, August 8, where he was under surveillance of the authorities until September 11th, when he was put on board a vessel for America, but escaped at Elsinore, in Denmark, and continued his labors with Elder Snow.

"Elder George P. Dykes was sent to Jutland, arriving in Aalborg, October 10, 1851, where, and in the vicinity of which, he labored six months, and baptized ninety-one persons."

September, 1851, Elder Peterson was sent by Elder Snow

15. The pamphlet will be found *in extenso* in the "Biography and Autobiography of Lorenzo Snow," chapters XXI and XXII, where it occupies thirty-two pages. The compilation was made in English and then translated into French by a professor from the University of Paris residing in England and engaged by Elder Orson Pratt to do the work. It appears that it was also later published in Italian, (Snow's Autobiography, p. 215).

16. Autobiography, p. 215.

17. These missionary labors are elaborately set forth in Elder Snow's "Biography and Autobiography," by his sister, Elizo R. Snow Smith, chapters XVIII to XXXI. Also *Mill. Star*, Vols. XII-XIV *passim*.

from Aalborg to Norway. He baptized a few persons and organized a branch at Bergen.

The same year Elder Snow sent from Copenhagen to Iceland Elder Gudmansen, a native Iceland, whom he had baptized and ordained to preach the Gospel in his native land. Gudmansen baptized several persons and laid the foundation for subsequent missionary labors there.

“During Elder Snow’s stay of twenty-two months in Denmark about six hundred persons were baptized. The Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants were translated and published in the Danish language, as also a number of pamphlets in Swedish and Danish, and the *Scandinavian Stjerne* founded, which continues the organ of the Church in that country to this day.”¹⁸

Elder John Taylors Mission on France and Germany: The October Conference of 1849 appointed John Taylor of the quorum of the Twelve and Curtis E. Bolton and John Pack to a mission to France and Germany. Elder William Howell, a zealous Elder from Wales had preached the gospel in the various places in the Jersey Islands and on the coasts of France and had baptized a few into the church, and organized a branch of the Church with six members,” on the 6th of April, 1850, at Boulogne-sur-mer, France.

After a brief stay in England Elder Taylor and his associates of the French mission crossed the English channel, arriving at Boulogne sur-mer on the 18th of June. A hall was taken in the center of the city and a course of lectures announced which were attended by a number of Protestant ministers of the city, three of whom finally joined in a challenge to Elder Taylor to publicly discuss the subject of “Mormonism.” The challenge was

18. Report of Church Historian in “Utah Pioneers,” p. 27. Also *Mill. Star*, Vols. XII to XIV *passim*.

19. See Howell’s Letters to *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, pp.90-92; also pp. 157-9. Following is Howell’s characteristically Welsh report of the event:

“April 6th, 1850.—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized on the continent of America containing six members.”

April 6th, 1850.—I had the pleasure of organizing a branch of the same church on the continent of Europe containing six members, to be called the Boulogne sur-Mer branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, under the presidency at Liverpool.” He also ordained G. Viet, to preach the Gospel in France.

promptly accepted.²⁰ The *Boulogne Interpreter* published a condensed report of the discussion, and subsequently, in substance, it was published in pamphlet form and circulated in the British mission.²¹ The fact that the discussion was published and circulated in the British mission gives evidence of the success of Elder Taylor's advocacy and defense of the cause he espoused. So vigorous were the replies of Elder Taylor to the charges and arguments of his opponents that the three ministers asked that the discussion close, and while yet speaking the chairman informed Elder Taylor that the other side wished the debate to end.²²

Notwithstanding much opposition the mission in France was successful, and branches of the Church were organized in Paris, Havre, Calis, and Boulogne. In June, 1851, the branches of the

20. *Revs.* C. W. Cleave, James Robertson and Philip Carter were the names of the three ministers. Elder Taylor inclosed the challenge to the Mayor of Boulogne with a note asking if there would be any objection to such a meeting. Being informed there would be no objection, the challenge was accepted and the preliminaries arranged (*Life of John Taylor*, 1892, Roberts, p. 202).

21. It is published in the "Works of Orson Pratt," Edition of 1851, Liverpool.

22. The following is the manner of the closing. Elder Taylor was defending the organization and ordinances of the gospel of the "new dispensation by a comparison of them with the New Testament, doctrines, then—

Chairman (To Elder Taylor)—Do you wish to continue the gentlemen on the opposite side are satisfied that it rest here?

Elder Taylor.—I certainly did not anticipate this. I expected to investigate their principles further, according to agreement.

Chairman.—They do not wish to say any more.

Elder Taylor.—If they have no reply to make, of course I must let it rest. (*Public Discussion in France*, p. 36).

There is one item connected with this discussion that should be dealt with, since it is a matter that the enemies of Elder Taylor have sought to make much of in casting reproach upon his veracity and moral courage. In the course of the discussion his opponents rehearsed writings and lectures of John C. Bennett after he was excommunicated from the Church; and accused the Saints with practicing the grave immoralities described by this arch apostate. Among the immoralities charged were those of promiscuous sexual intercourse, a community of wives, the keeping of seraglios, polygamy, illicit intercourse by permission of the Prophet, and the keeping of spiritual wives.

To all this Elder Taylor made a general and emphatic denial, and read from an article then published in the Appendix of the Doctrine and Covenants, expressing the belief of the Church on the subject of marriage; and inasmuch as he knew of and had obeyed the law of celestial marriage, including as it does a plurality of wives, he has been accused of falsehood, and of seeking to deceive by denying the charges then brought against the Church.

The polygamy and gross sensuality charged by Bennett and repeated by those ministers in France, had no resemblance to celestial or patriarchal marriage which Elder Taylor knew existed in Nauvoo, and which he had obeyed. Hence in denying the false charges of Bennett he did not deny the existence of that system of marriage that God had revealed; no more than a man would be guilty of denying the legal, genuine currency of his country, by denying the genuineness and denouncing what he knew to be a mere counterfeit of it.

Channel Islands were added to the French mission. By December, 1851, when a conference was held in the city of Paris, more than four hundred members in the French mission were represented.

Besides publishing a number of articles in the current press of France on the subject of his mission, Elder Taylor founded a monthly periodical in French under the title *Etoile Du Deseret* a royal octavo sheet, the first number of which appeared in May, 1851. With the assistance of his associates, Elders Curtis and Bolton, together with the assistance of Louis Bertrand and others, he succeeded in translating and publishing the Book of Mormon in French. A few wealthy members of the Church in England supplied the means, and he made such arrangements with the publishers that when copies of the book were sold a certain amount of the proceeds was set aside for printing another edition, "until 200,000 copies were printed without additional expense."

Elder Taylor introduced the new dispensation of the gospel into Germany as well as in France. He preached in the City of Hamburg and organized a branch of the Church there in the summer of 1851. Here also he founded another monthly periodical called "*Zion's Panier*," the first number of which issued from the press November 1st, 1851.²³

Elder Taylor supervised the translation of the Book of Mormon and arranged for its publication in German. The work was completed and the plates stereotyped; and the text so arranged that the French and German pages would face each other, each page containing the same matter in the same opening, thus admitting of their being bound together in one volume.

In this work he was assisted by Elder Viet, a German, and a teacher of that language in France, where Elder Taylor found him; by Elder George P. Dyles, who by this time had been transferred from the Scandinavia mission to Germany; and by a Brother Charles Miller, who was among the first converts of Hamburg.

The unsettled conditions obtaining in France during the years 1850-1852, hindered very much the progress of the Mission to

23. It was continued until —

France, especially in the matter of publishing *Etoile Du Deseret*, those being the years of the revolution which marked the rise to power of Napoleon III; and Elder Taylor found it necessary to leave France in the closing month of 1851.

In addition to these spiritual labors, Elder Taylor had been interested while in France in the manufacture of sugar from the sugar beet, and being convinced that both the climate and soil of Salt Lake Valley were favorable to the production of beets, he organized the "Deseret manufacturing Company," having for its chief, though not exclusive purpose, the manufacture of beet sugar in Salt Lake Valley. The company was composed of four partners, of whom Elder Taylor was one, with equal shares. The capital stock was put at fifty thousand pounds sterling, equal to a quarter of a million of American dollars.

Elder Taylor had the machinery for the proposed sugar works made in Liverpool, by Faucett, Preston & Co., at a cost of twelve thousand five hundred dollars. It was first class machinery, the very best that could be obtained, and such was its weight that it required fifty-two teams to carry it from Council Bluffs to Salt Lake City, where it arrived in due time.²⁴

Elder Orson Pratt's and Elder Franklin D. Richards's Mission in the British Isles: Elder Pratt was already in England when the general conference of October, 1849, appointed Elder Franklin D. Richards, of the council of the Twelve, and a number of other Elders from the Salt Lake Valley,²⁵ to a mission in England; Elder Richards being selected to succeed Elder Pratt in the Presidency whenever the latter should deem it advisable or necessary to return home.

Elder Pratt, it will be remembered, went to England from

24. The machinery was installed about three or four miles south of Salt Lake City, and when an ecclesiastical organization was affected there it was called "Sugar House Ward." Owing to the lack of skilled workmen, the operations were unsatisfactory, and at the instance of President Young the enterprise was abandoned. The successful manufacture of sugar now, however, both in Utah and throughout the Inter-mountain West, is a vindication of Elder Taylor's conviction and judgment that the climate and soil in Utah was pre-eminently suited to that great industry.

25. The other Elders called by this conference to go to England were Job Smith, Haden W. Church, Geo. B. Wallace, John S. Higbee, Jacob Gates, Joseph W. Johnson, Joseph W. Young, see Minutes of the Conference *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, pp. 131-5; also an Epistle of the First Presidency, *Ibid*, pp. 118-122. "Elder Orson Pratt is doing a great work in England, and the cause of truth is advancing rapidly" said the Epistle.

winter quarters in 1848, arriving in Liverpool in the latter part of July, honorably releasing Elder Orson Spencer from the Presidency of the British Mission. He inaugurated a most vigorous administration of affairs in the British mission. Some of his most effective and valuable works appearing in the *Millennial Star* of the next two years. Then appeared his series of articles on "*Divine Authority, or Was Joseph Smith Sent of God*"; "*The Kingdom of God*"; "*Remarkable Visions*"; "*The New Jerusalem*," a consideration of the prophecies concerning the founding of a Holy City, Zion on the American continent; "*Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon*"; "*A Reply to Remarks on Mormonism*," being an answer to a pamphlet printed at Glasgow with the "Approbation of Clergymen of Different Denominations"; and a philosophical treatise on the "*Aburdities of Immaterialism*."

After one year and a half of this vigorous work, which extended to preaching the gospel, the organization of branches, the multiplying of conferences, and the emigration of the Saints to America, as well as to the publication of the works above noted. He could say on the 15th of March, 1850:—

"It is now over one year and a-half since our arrival in this country; during this period, the Kingdom of God has rolled forth with unparalled success; its numbers have increased in Great Britain alone, from about eighteen thousand to nearly twenty-nine thousand souls (increase of 11,000) Two thousand of this number have emigrated to America. The circulation of the *Star*, during the same period, has increased from thirty-seven hundred to fifty-seven hundred. The great reduction proposed in the price of the *Star* will, no doubt, have a tendency to soon quadruple its circulation."²⁶

All these achievements were accomplished before the arrival of Elder Richards, and on the eve of a departure for the United States on business.

Elder Richards arrived in England in March, 1850, and during the temporary absence of Elder Pratt assumed the responsibilities of presidency.²⁷ The latter part of July Elder Pratt re-

26. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 89.

27. See Epistle *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 135, Et Seq.

turned and resumed the presidency,²⁸ which he held until the latter part of January, 1851. During his administration the *Millennial Star* increased in circulation from 3,700 to 22,000; by his agency 5,500 souls emigrated from the British Mission to America; and twenty-one thousand were brought into the church.²⁹

After his departure Elder Richards, the appointed president from the October conference of 1849, continued the work in the same spirit. It was during his presidency that the *Millennial Star* was changed from a semi-monthly to a weekly periodical, in which form it continues to this day (1912). He enlarged and printed a new edition of the Latter-day Saints Hymn Book; published a collection of revelations and writings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, known as the "*Pearl of Great Price*," which, with the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants, is recognized and accepted as one of the volumes of Scripture by the Church of Latter-day Saints, binding upon the Church as authority in doctrine and history.³⁰ He published a new edition

28. See Pratt's Epistle in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 246, Et Seq.

29. See Testimonial to Orson Pratt on the occasion of his departure for Salt Lake City, given 22nd January, 1815. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, pp. 43, 44.

30. Its Title page was as follows:

The
PEARL OF GREAT PRICE
Being a
Choice Selection
from the
Revelations, Translations, and Narrations
of
JOSEPH SMITH,
First Prophet, Seer, and Revelator to the Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In addition to the Articles now published in the current and authorized version of the tract, it also contained a number of extracts from the Revelations of the Doctrine and Covenants, including a key to the revelations of St. John (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 77); commandments to the Church concerning baptism (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 20); on the method of administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 20); the duties of the Elders, Priests, Teachers, and Deacons and members of the Church (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 20); on Priesthood (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 84); the calling and duties of the Twelve Apostles (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 107); an extract from the revelation given July, 1830, (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 27); extract from the revelation on the rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 1); John Jaques' splendid hymn, entitled "Truth," (Hymn-book, p. 71), and last but not least, the revelation and prophecy on war, (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 87). From this enumeration of articles omitted from this choice collection in the later editions of the work, it is seen that nothing is omitted but what is now published in the Doctrine and Covenants or Hymn-book; and the eliminations were made to avoid duplicating the publication of the articles in several books.

Reverting to the revelation and prophecy on war, I call attention to the fact

of Parley P. Pratt's Mormon classic, the "*Voice of Warning*"; stereotyped plates of the Book of Mormon; founded the Perpetual Emigrating Fund in Great Britain, and sent the first company by that agency to the Salt Lake Valley. During his presidency about one thousand souls emigrated to Utah.³¹

Such were the missions appointed by the Conference of 1849; such in brief, the things accomplished by those missions. These achievements are remarkable when all the circumstances are taken into account. The men engaging in these missionary enterprises had been for two years, and some of them for three years, exiles, and forced into camp life in the wilderness, on the frontiers of the United States. Some of them had been in the Mormon Battalion march from the Missouri River to the Pacific coast. Some of them had been leaders in the Mormon Pioneer journey, from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley. All had been engaged in founding colonies on the shores of the Salt Lake, America's "Dead Sea." Their families were living in log or adobe huts in the newly settled, wilderness homes. Their *habitat*, when called to these missions, was comparatively adjacent to the gold fields of California, to which vast multitudes were hastening with all available speed; one of the main streams of this gold-mad migration passed through their city of huts of log and adobe homes, and mocked the humble lives they led, derided the faith they followed, the ideals they cherished as evangelists of a new dispensation of the gospel of the Christ, and often urged them to forsake this to participate in the world's rush for gold. But these men responded to the call of conceived duty, and became the founders of missions in foreign lands, or enlarged the work where it was already established. They founded periodicals and translated their scriptures and wrote books in

that the preface of the Pearl of Great Price bears the date of July 11, 1851, and the work was published in that year; but it was not until the morning of the 12th of April, 1861, that the first gun in the great Rebellion was fired on Fort Sumter by General Beauregard, so that this remarkable prophecy made by the Prophet in 1832 was actually in print and widely published in England and the United States nearly ten years before the war of the Rebellion broke out.

31. Nine hundred and seventy-seven to be exact. Liverpool Route Tables, p. 15. The reason there was such a falling off in the numbers emigrated in Elder Richards' administration as compared with that of Elder Pratt's, arose from the fact that about the time Elder Richards' administration began the Presidency of the Church suspended immigration to America except in cases where, the parties could meet the expense the journey through to Salt Lake Valley, and as but few could do this the emigration was very much decreased.

languages to them before unknown. They directed streams of emigration to the far-away state they and their associates were founding in the Great Basin. Their thoughts were upon big things. They were building the world-wide empire of the Christ. Their vision of their work stretched wide as eternity. They were living in conscious union and service with God. They were His ambassadors to the nations and empires of the world. Their work concerned itself with the salvation of men. Their service was given for the love of God and the love of man. If it be true, and who doubts it, that occupation influences character; that as men's spirits can never be generous and noble while they engage in petty, mean employments, so they can never be abject and mean-spirited while their actions are honorable and glorious, then what must have been the greatness of soul, the spirit-expanding power experienced by these men while engaged in these missions of the Church, appointed in that year of grace 1849?

The antithesis their work presents to that of the gold-mad migration rushing westward through their settlements, to point out which the account of these missions is here presented, should not be overlooked.

NOTE 1. EARLY UTAH CURRENCY AND COINAGE: The first currency in Salt Lake Valley would naturally be such United State money as the people would bring with them, which, considering their circumstances when driven from their homes, would not be a large amount. When Captain Brown of the Mormon Battalion returned from California in December of 1847 with the pay of the invalided detachments of the Battalion, which he had been authorized to collect, he bought the amount, about \$10,000, in Spanish doubloons; and this, for a time, supplied a currency. On the arrival of Brigham Young in the valley in 1848 he brought with him \$84 "in small change," and this was distributed in the community; but this was inadequate, soon disappeared, and the people were distressed for want of change. The gold dust brought into the valley from the California mines by members of the Mormon Battalion was inconvenient to handle and there was much waste in weighing it. An effort was made to coin the dust, John Kay being employed to do the work but all the crucibles broke and the effort failed. President Young then proposed to issue paper currency against the gold deposited until the dust on hand could be coined. The municipal council authorized the issuance of such currency, and appointed

Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and N. K. Whitney to issue it. The first bills of one dollar denomination were printed on the first day of January, 1849, and this was the first printing done in Salt Lake Valley. (Hist. Brigham Young Ms. Bk. 4, p. 1). Later Kirtland Bank bills (see *ante* this History ch. XXVI) of various denominations, which had been preserved by some of the saints, were brought out, resigned and placed on a par with gold. "Thus fulfilling the prophecy of Joseph" [Smith], said Brigham Young, "that the Kirtland notes would one day be as good as gold" (Hist. B. Y. Ms. Bk. 4, p. 3. See also *Ibid* p. 56). A second attempt at coinage of gold dust was successful, and coins of the denomination of \$2 1-2, \$5, \$10 and \$20 pieces were issued. Their fineness was 899.1000, no alloy being used except a little silver. The coinage continued intermittently until as late as 1860.

An engraving of these several coins from photographs of them is published with this chapter. The character on the reverse side of the coin of 1860, (around the lion couchant) are in the characters of the "Deseret Phonetic Alphabet," designed by Orson Pratt, and reads "*Holiness to the Lord.*"

NOTE 2. THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS PERPETUAL EMIGRATING FUNDS The first steps in effecting this organization, as stated in the text of this History were taken in September, 1849, when the propriety of creating a perpetual fund for the purpose of helping the poor saints to emigrate to this place (i. e. the Salt Lake Valley), agreeably to our covenants in the (Nauvoo) Temple that we would "never cease our exertions, by all the means and influence within our reach, till all the saints who were obliged to leave Nauvoo should be located at some gathering place of the saints." The council approved this suggestion, and a committee was appointed to raise a fund by voluntary contribution to effect this purpose. "The October conference (1849) sanctioned the doings of the Committee," says the epistle of the Presidency bearing date of October 12th, 1849, and appointed Edward Hunter, a tried, faithful and approved Bishop, a general agent to bear the perpetual emigrating funds to the States, to superintend the direction and appropriation thereof, and return the same to this place with such poor brethren as shall be wisdom to help.

"We wish all to understand, that this fund is *Perpetual*, and is never to be diverted from the object of gathering the poor to Zion while there are Saints to be gathered, unless He whose right is to rule shall otherwise command. Therefore we call upon President Orson Hyde and all the Saints, and all benevolent

souls everywhere, to unite their gold, their silver, and their cattle, with ours in this perpetual fund, and co-operate with Bishop Hunter in producing as many teams as possible, preparatory for next spring's emigration." (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 120).

The subject at the October conference was brought up by Heber C. Kimball. Referring to the Nauvoo covenant he said: "Shall we fulfill that covenant, or shall we not?" The vote was unanimous to fulfill the covenant. "Now let every man and woman take hold," said Elder Kimball, "and do not send your agent to the states with less than \$10,000; and then you will cause a day of rejoicing among the poor in Illinois." The conference appointed a committee of five to gather contributions for the fund. The names of the committee follow: Willard Snow, John S. Fulmer Lorenzo Snow, John D. Lee and Franklin D. Richards. Bishop Edward Hunter was appointed to be the agent to go east and expend the funds thus raised,—amounting that year to six thousand dollars;* in gathering the poor to the valleys. It was moved by Elder John Taylor that the whole business pertaining to the fund be placed under the direction of the First Presidency of the Church, and his motion was carried unanimously. (See minutes of the conference Oct. 1849, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 131, Et Seq.)

The general manner of using the fund was thus stated in the Epistle of the First Presidency, under date of Oct. 12, 1849:

"This perpetual fund is to be under the special direction of the Presidency at all times, and as soon as Bishop Hunter shall return with the same and his freight of Saints to this place, the cattle and teams will be disposed of to the best advantage, and the avails, with all we can add to it, will be sent forth immediately on another mission, and we want you all prepared to meet it and add to it, and so would we continue to increase from year to year, until 'when a nation is born in a day,' they can be removed the next, if the Lord will; therefore, ye poor, and meek of the earth, lift up your heads and rejoice in the Holy One of Israel, for your redemption draweth nigh; but in your rejoicings be patient, for though your turn to emigrate may not be the first year, or even the second, it will come, and its tarryings will be short, if all the Saints who have, (means) will be as liberal as those in the valley."

*"Bishop Hunter is now in Kanesville with \$6,000 as the first fruits of the fund which was obtained in the valley by voluntary donations for the purpose of buying oxen, and to take the poor saints from the Bluffs to the Valley in the spring." Letter from Wilford Woodruff, Cambridgeport, Mass., June 12, 1850, in *Mill. Star*, XI, p. 62-3. At the General conference of the Church held at Salt Lake in September, 1850, President Young placed the sum at over \$5,000: "Last year we did wonders," are his words, "we accomplished a good thing in raising over, \$5,000 which was sent back to the states for the poor." *Mill. Star*, XIII, p. 21.

This passage reflects the spirit in which the movement was conceived and in which for many years its work was carried on. In order to give this charity stability and perpetuity its promoters were organized into a company by the provisional government of the state of Deseret, September 14, 1850; under the style and title of "The Perpetual Emigration Fund Company." This act was legalized by the Utah Territorial government, Oct. 4th, 1851; amended by the same authority in January 12, 1856. (See Utah enactments of the territorial legislature for those years and dates).

The method of making this fund a perpetual one was by requiring those emigrated by the fund to repay into its coffers the amount used in their emigration, "with interest if required;" this to be used again in immigrating others. The first efforts of the Emigrating company was to provide for the gathering of the exiles from Illinois; but the Presidency of the British Mission was authorized to introduce this system for the gathering of the Saints out of that country, and by January, 1852, 1,140 English pounds, equal to about \$5,700.00 had been subscribed; and in the emigration of that year from England, 251 persons were sent by the "Fund." Special arrangements had been made to conduct this company from Liverpool to Salt Lake City; John S. Higbee and Isaac C. Haight having charge of the Saints on the ocean voyage traveling in two vessels, the *Kennebec*, Haight in charge, the *Ellen Maria*, Higbee in charge; the first sailing from Liverpool in January; the second in February. These Elders delivered their respective companies to the care of Abraham O. Smoot, who conducted them over the plains and mountains to Salt Lake City, where they arrived on the 3rd of September following. This company was met at the mouth of Emigration Canon by President Young, a number of the Twelve, and many leading citizens on horseback and in carriages and escorted into the city, headed by Captain Pitts band. When passing Temple Square the company was saluted by the firing of canons; and before dispersing were welcomed in a public address by President Young, in the course of which he said—and from this paragraph may be judged the spirit of this whole emigration movement in behalf of the poor:

"I will say to this company, they have had the honor of being escorted into the city by some of the most distinguished individuals of our society, and a band of music, accompanied with a salutation from the cannon. Other companies have not had this mark of respect shown to them; they belong to the rich, and are able to help themselves. I rejoice that you are here; and that you will find yourselves in the midst of an abundance of

the common necessities of life, a liberal supply of which you can easily obtain by your labour." (*Liverpool Route*, 1855, p. 12).

In order to comply with the requirements of the 16th section of the act of incorporation, *viz*, that "all persons receiving assistance from the Perpetual Emigrating Fund for the Poor, shall "re-emburse the same, in labor or otherwise, as soon as their circumstances will admit," the following obligation was drawn up and signed by each emigrant of this first and by members of all subsequent companies:

CONTRACT

"Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, organized at Great Salt Lake City, Deseret, U. S. A., October 6th, 1849.

"..... Agent, Liverpool.

"We, the undersigned, do hereby agree with and bind ourselves to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, in the following conditions, *viz*.—

"That, in consideration of the aforesaid Company emigrating or transporting us, and our necessary luggage, from Great Britain to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, according to the Rules of the Company, and the general instructions of their authorized Agents;

"We do severally and jointly promise and bind ourselves to continue with, and obey the instructions of, the Agent appointed to superintend our passage thither: that we will receipt for our passages previous to arriving at the several ports of New Orleans, St. Louis, and Kanessville;

"And that, on our arrival in the Great Salt Lake Valley, we will hold ourselves, our time and our labour, subject to the appropriation of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, until the full cost of our emigration is paid, with interest if required." (*Liverpool Route*, pp. 10, 11.)

That these obligations were never rigorously pressed—some anti-Mormon writers to the contrary notwithstanding—is witnessed by the fact that by the year 1880, the unpaid principal of indebtedness to this fund amounted in the church to the sum of \$704,000; and if interest on this outstanding indebtedness during the years it could legitimately have drawn interest at the rate of ten per cent.—the usual rate in the west previous to 1880—that interest would have amounted to \$900,000; making a total of principal and interest of \$1,604,000. Yet instead of oppressively seeking to collect this amount, the Fund Company in

the year 1880—the year known in our annals as the Year of Jubilee, the Church then having been in existence fifty years—one half of this principal and interest was cancelled, being applied on the indebtedness of the worthy poor, they being wholly set free from the obligation of payment. (See Minutes of the Fiftieth Annual Conference—Year of Jubilee—1880—Pamphlet, p. 62).

It will be observed that the obligation in the signed contract concerning interest was an agreement to pay interest “*if required.*” When ever there was anything like promptness in the payment of the principal, or where misfortune had been encountered, it was the policy of the company not to require interest; indeed the policy of the company was very generous in respect of the payment of both principal and interest. This fund conceived in such noble spirit was the means of bringing tens of thousands of the landless poor from Europe—for its operations were not confined to America and the British Isles—to the unoccupied lands of the Great Basin, where in a few years, they and their descendants became landed proprietors, independent and prosperous citizens of the intermountain west. The “Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company” was dissolved by act of congress in 1887, the congressional enactment known as the “Edmunds-Tucker Act,” of which more in the appropriate place.

Historic Views and Reviews

LAFAYETTE'S CHAIR IN WASHINGTON

THE United States National Museum has in its historical collection the arm-chair of the Marquis Lafayette, in which he is said to have sat on the day of his death.

This chair is a recent acquisition, presented to the museum by the Marquise Arconati Visconti of Paris, and it was through the interest of Prof. Franz Curmont of Brussels that this interesting piece of furniture is now in the National Museum of the country the Marquis so loyally served in the War of Independence.

The chair is in excellent condition. Its frame, of simple design, is constructed of plain unpolished mahogany pieces about two inches square. While it is a comparatively low chair, the seat being only a little more than 12 inches from the floor, the curved back stands over three feet high. The slightly rounded front legs support horizontal arms, and at the junction are surmounted with carved figures representing the heads of sphinxes, which constitute the only decoration on the chair.

Both the seat and back, as well as the sides under the arms, are upholstered in green silk worsted cloth, interwoven with a floral design resembling tulips. All four legs are tipped with brass and provided with casters. The chair has a comfortable appearance.

After the Marquis died in 1834 the chair became the property of his grandson, Edmond Lafayette, who in turn transmitted it to the donor, Marquis Arconati Visconti.

REMEMBERED LANDING OF RUSSIANS

Dora Di Santos, an Indian woman, said to be 106 years of age, died recently, and she claimed to have been living with her family at Fort Ross when the Russians landed a century ago and built the historic fort, a Greek chapel and other landmarks.

The old woman maintained her faculties right up to death. She had a son, eighty-seven years old, living with her. In the Llano district, near Sebastopol, on the occasion of her one hundredth birthday, a number of the pioneer families made the day a happy one for her. She and her people lived for many years in the Fort Ross section, and in the early days they had lands and cattle galore.

The aged woman used to tell that her family helped the Russians build their forts.



WHY CADETS WEAR GRAY

While stationed at Buffalo in the summer of 1814 General Scott wrote to the quartermaster for a supply of new clothing for the regulars. Word soon came back that blue cloth such as was used in the Army could not be obtained owing to the stringency of the blockade and the embargo and the lack of manufactures in the country, but there was a sufficient quantity of gray cloth (now known as "cadet gray") in Philadelphia. Scott ordered it to be made up for his soldiers, and in these new gray suits they marched down the Niagara River, on the Canadian side, in the direction of Chippewa. It was just before the battle known by that name, which occurred early in July. General Riall, the British commander, looked upon them with contempt when preparing for battle on the morning of the 5th, for the Marquis of Tweeddale, who, with the British advance, had skirmished with them all the day before, had reported that they were only "Buffalo militia," and accounted for their fighting so well and driving him to his intrenchments north of the Chippewa River by the fact that it was the anniversary of American independence that stimulated them.

On account of the victory won at Chippewa on that day, chiefly by these soldiers in gray, and in honor of Scott and the troops, that style of cloth was adopted at the Military Academy at West Point as the uniform of the cadets.



EMPTY WASHINGTON TOMB

Few persons know it was planned that the body of George Washington should find its resting place, not at Mount Vernon, but in the capital city named in his honor. Directly beneath the centre of the rotunda of the Capitol, in one of the subterranean chambers in a direct line beneath the Goddess of Liberty which surmounts the dome, was built the crypt which to the few is known as "Washington's Tomb."

It was the desire of the statesmen of the early days that the ashes of Washington should forever rest in this inclosure. A galleried opening was to be left in the centre of the rotunda floor, and through this the sarcophagus containing the body could be viewed from above. In this manner the reverent may look down upon the tomb of the great Napoleon in the Hotel des Invalides in Paris. It was deemed peculiarly appropriate that the body of Washington should rest here in what seemed the heart of the nation which he had founded. However, upon his death, in 1799, his body was entombed at Mount Vernon, his magnificent Virginia estate, thirteen miles down the Potomac River from Washington. It never was brought to Washington.

Subsequent to his death Mrs. Washington consented to the removal of the body from Mount Vernon to the Capitol on the condition that she also might be laid by his side. The crypt was made ready. Correspondence was carried on between Mrs. Washington and the officials relative to the ceremonies attending the removal. Before arrangements had been concluded Mrs. Washington died. In 1832 the Virginia State Legislature passed a resolution protesting against removing the body of her most illustrious son from within her borders. At length, on February 15, 1832, John A. Washington, then the owner of Mount Vernon, in a letter denied the request which had been

formerly made by Congress. There were those who whispered that his action was inspired by the idea that the value of Mount Vernon would depreciate seriously if the request were granted. Now, those who wish to pay homage at the tomb of the "Father of his country" must make the pilgrimage to Mount Vernon.

Despite the attitude of the heirs of Washington, Congress manifestly did not abandon the idea of ultimately transferring his sarcophagus to the Capitol. By order of Congress a "keeper of the crypt" kept a light burning in the vault until the civil war. Until that time it had not been extinguished for fifty years. It had come to be regarded as a hallowed shrine.

The tomb has been for the last forty-five years the storage room for the catafalque on which rested the body of President Lincoln when it lay in state. It has served a similar purpose at the state funeral of later presidents who have died in their term of office. To-day the crypt is inclosed by a temporary iron grill and is not open to visitors. In fact few know of its existence.



VALUABLE AMERICANA SOLD

A remarkable collection of rare autograph letters, historical documents, and literary manuscripts was recently sold by Stan. V. Henkels in Philadelphia. Included in it are letters of George Washington and other Presidents of the United States, Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Generals in the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the civil war; naval officers, eminent authors and poets, historians, and other celebrities, American and foreign. There are also manuscripts of Mark Twain, Alexander Dumas, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, and others; personal association books, and manuscript journals of early travels in the United States.

One of the most interesting of the Washington letters refers to his stepson, John Parke Custis, the son of Martha Washington by her first husband, Daniel Parke Custis. Young Custis served as aid to Washington in the American Revolution. He died in 1781, leaving four children, the two younger of whom, Eleanor Parke Custis and George Washington Parke Custis, Washington at once adopted.

The letter is dated Mount Vernon, Feb. 3, 1771, and is addressed to the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, who was rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis, Md., and tutor to Washington's stepson. It reads as follows:

Dear Sir: Col. Robert Fairfax, with whom I have often talked, and who much approves of Jackson's intended Tour of Improvement, purposes to leave this on his return to England some time in March, before his doing of which he is desirous of seeing Jacky and has instructed me to say that he should be very glad of seeing you with him—the warmth with which he has made a tender of his services and the pressing invitation to make use of Leeds Castle as a home, in vacation time, are too obliging to be neglected. I should be glad, therefore, if it could suit you both to be over some time before the last of the month, or as soon after the 10th of March as may be, as I expect to be in Frederick, indeed, am obliged to be, from the first of the month to that time, and I do not know but Mrs. Washington may accompany me to my Brother's. His Horses shall attend you at my appointed time. Company and the suddenness of the opportunity prevent my enlarging, or taking notice of your last letter, further than to say that it never was my intention that Jacky should be restrained from proper company—to prevent as much as possible his connecting with Store boys and that kind of low, loose company, who could not be displeased at the debauchery of his manners, but perhaps endeavour to avail themselves of some advantages from it, is all I had in view. Mrs. Washington requests the favour of you to get her 2 oz. of the Spirit of Ether, if such a thing is to be had in Annapolis for Miss Custis and send it by Price Posey. Our love and best wishes attend yourself and Jackey, and I am, Yr. Most Obdt. Servt.

G. WASHINGTON.



PISTOLS IN HIS PULPIT

Boucher was a native of Cumberland, England, and was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1782. For many years he had charge in turn of several ecclesiastical parishes in America.

He lived in intimate friendship with Washington. They often dined together and spent many hours in talk. Boucher's loyalty was, however, uncompromising, and, when the American Revolution began he denounced the doctrines of the patriots. His last sermon, preached, it is said, with pistols on his pulpit cushion, ended with the words:

"As long as I live; yea, while I have my being, will I proclaim 'God save the King.' "

Washington shared in the condemnation of Boucher, but, when the latter published the discourses, which he had preached in America between 1763 and 1775, he dedicated the collection to Washington as "a tender of renewed amity." He returned to England in the autumn of 1775, married thrice, was rewarded by a Government pension, and died April 27, 1804.



PAINE'S JOYFUL LETTER

Letters of Thomas Paine are extremely rare. In this collection is one dated "Gen. Greene's Quarters," Oct. 30, 1777, and addressed to Timothy Matlack, who was a member of the Society of Free Quakers, or "Fighting Quakers," as the members of the Society of Friends were called who took an active part in the War for Independence. The letter relates to the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and the British attack on Red Bank. It reads as follows:

The enclosed were written when your express came; please to convey them as directed. Your letter, I observe, is dated 26, four days ago. Suppose by this time you have had particulars of Burgoyne's surrender. The bad weather and the high waters render it impossible to pass from one part of the camp to another. I understand by the articles of Capitulation which came to Head Qrs. that Burgoyne and his Army are to be sent to England. You will see my remarks on that head in my letter to Col. Lee, which is enclosed and unsealed. No attempt has been made on the forts since the 22d by the Hessians. Count Donop is wounded and a prisoner, with about 200 others killed, wounded, and

taken, besides what wounded were carried into Philadelphia, which by ye account of persons who came out exceed that number. Four twenty-four poundes have been got from the wreck and more will yet be gotten. The Army is as well as can be expected after a long continuance of cold rain. I write this at Gen. Greene's. Shall go from hence to Head Qrs. If anything new there I will either add it, or send another letter. I go toward the forts this afternoon.



TWO GREENE LETTERS

There are several fine letters of Major Gen. Nathaniel Greene, written during his famous campaign in the South. In one, to his wife, dated Jan. 25, 1781, he refers to the victory at the Cowpers:

Gen. Morgan has given Col. Tarleton a complete defeat. The enemy's loss is upward of one hundred killed, upward of two hundred wounded, and upward of 500 prisoners, and between thirty and forty commissioned officers killed or taken prisoners. Besides these there were taken two field pieces, 800 stand of arms, thirty-four waggons, sixty negroes and an hundred Dragoon horses. The victory was complete as it is glorious. The particulars you will see in the papers. * * * Keep a good heart. I hope we shall enjoy many happy days together, tho' we may be separated a few months longer. Write me by every opportunity. The birds are singing and the frogs are peeping in the same manner they are in April in the Northward, and vegetation is in as great forwardness as the beginning of May. We are to have a feu de joy to-day, and I have many letters to write, therefore you will pardon this short note. Please to present my kind regards to all friends. I am in perfect good health, and everybody is in high spirits about me. But I am of a Spanish disposition, always the most serious when there is the greatest run of good fortune, for fear of some ill-fated stroke.

The other Greene letter is dated "Camp before Ninety-six," May 24, 1781, and is addressed to General Butler. In it Greene says:

I expected Lord Cornwallis's pride would force him to the northward. The state of matters here is simply this: Camden and the fort at Nelson's Ferry are evacuated; the forts at Mott's, Watson's, Granby, and Orangeburg taken. Ninety-six and Augusta are besieged; since we came into this State we have taken near 800 prisoners and fifty officers. Should this post and Augusta fall, which is by no means certain, though probable, our prisoners will be numerous, and the whole country open to the gates of Charleston; and the people are joining us in all quarters, though much distressed for want of arms.



WILLIAMS TO NATHAN HALE

A letter of E. Williams to Nathan Hale, dated New Haven, April 20, 1775, and endorsed in Hale's handwriting, reads in part:

All public exercises and exhibitions are discontinued at college, on account of the present melancholy aspect of our public affairs. Politics engross so much the attention of the people of all ages and denominations among us that little else is heard or thought of. It would, I suppose, be nothing new to inform you that the best military company in the colony consists of the members of Yale College, who appear statedly under arms three times per day. Query. Do we not bid fair to be in time a martial people and a match for our enemies, when even students are so much engaged in the cause?



GEN. GATES'S DEFEAT

In a letter dated Sept. 10, 1780, and addressed to Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, David Humphreys, aid to Gen. Washington, writes of Gen. Gates's defeat at Camden as follows:

Govr. Jefferson of Virginia, in a Letter of the 3d inst., advises, that, after being shamefully abandoned by all the militia,

except Col. Dixon's Regt. of North Carolina, a most desperate conflict ensued between the Continental troops and the British, in which the former behaved gloriously, and a considerable number made good their retreat. The enemy pursued but four miles, and their Horse, which were detached to annoy the retreat, were totally repulsed by our troops. Generals Smallwood, Gist and Stearns are safe, De Kalb and Rutherford in the hands of the enemy. Out of 800 Continental troops engaged it is said five hundred have been reassembled. Lord Cornwallis has retreated to Canada. . . . Matters wear a much more favorable aspect than we were taught to believe from Genl. Gates's letter. . . . Three duels have lately been fought, in which two of the parties concerned have been killed and three wounded. The gentlemen killed were Bill Livingston of Baskenridge and Lt. Peyton of Maryland. Several more, now on the carpet, are inevitable. So you can see what a passion we have for fighting. What a pity it cannot be gratified on the common enemy. Genl. Poor, who died of fever, is to be buried to-day.



FROM "THE SWAMP ANGEL"

There is an interesting two-page folio letter of Gen. Francis Marion, "The Swamp Fox" of the Revolution, dated St. Stephens, April 8, 1782, and addressed to Gen. Greene, in which Marion gives particulars of his situation, stating it took him two days to cross a swollen river. He then goes on to say:

I shall keep a party patrolling to get the earliest intelligence of the enemy's movements, as my militia is dismounted it is impossible I can move with that alacrity as formerly. Consequently I cannot lay so close to the enemy, or take an advantage of their excursions in the country. My force is not more than two hundred, exclusive of the Horse, but if they were mounted, I could now and then give them a fire without risking the whole.

Among the other notable autographs in the collection were a letter of John Adams, Boston, May 24, 1805, to John Luyac;

a letter of John Quincy Adams, The Hague, Jan. 29, 1797, eulogizing President Washington; two letters of Harman Blennerhassett, noted for his unfortunate association with Aaron Burr; a letter of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, to John Quincy Adams, March 19, 1827, thanking him for appointing the son of Samuel Chase, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, as Judge of the Orphans' Court; four documents signed by Benjamin Franklin; a letter of Gen. Horatio Gates, Aug. 31, 1777, in reference to calling together absentees from the army to meet Burgoyne; letters to Benjamin Harrison, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, to Gov. Lee and to Gen. Greene; letters of Sir William Howe about Count Donop's intention to attack Red Bank, and a letter of Thomas Jefferson, Dec. 8, 1807, written while he was President.



INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

"There are as many Indians in the United States to-day as there were in the same territory in Columbus' time," declares Dr. Thomas Waterman, instructor in anthropology in the University of California. Dr. Waterman has made a special study of the American Indian, especially the Western Tribes. He lays particular claim to popular fame for his discovery of Ishi, the last of an expiring race in Northern California.

Dr. Waterman's assertion comes as a considerable jolt to the current sentiment, which pictures the red man as a tragic figure expatriated and fast vanishing from his native plains and woods.

"As a matter of fact, there were not nearly as many Indians in North America when it was discovered as is generally believed," continues Dr. Waterman. "Recent discoveries have led scientists to conclude that there were but a scarce quarter of a million east of the Sierras, and hardly 200,000 in California.

"The annals of the Lewis and Clark expedition are the basis for the idea that the United States swarmed with Indians. This expedition, however, merely traversed the river, and as it was on the river banks that all the Indian settlements were located, the explorers were misled as to the existence of inland towns.

In Columbus' time there was but one Indian to every twenty square miles of territory."

Dr. Waterman admitted that in California and Alaska the Indian is fast disappearing. Whiskey, consumption and modern diseases have worked havoc with the Indian whenever he has come into contact directly with the white. In the big reservations of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, however, the red man is flourishing and multiplying in health and normal conditions.



MONUMENT TO REBEL DORR

A monument to Thomas Wilson Dorr, of Dorr war fame, was unveiled July 18, on Acotes Hill in Chepachet, R. I., where Dorr made his last stand in 1842.

Col. Daniel R. Ballou, acting in behalf of the commission appointed by the General Assembly, turned the monument over to the State and Gov. Pothier accepted it. The memorial consists of a hugh rough hewn boulder with a tablet on one side.

In the speeches made by Gov. Pothier, State Treasurer Reid, Col. Ballou and Thomas W. Bicknell, Dorr was described as one who, though he headed open rebellion against the State, yet urged principles which to-day are known to be just.

Miss Edith C. Davis, daughter of Representative Frank F. Davis of Gloucester, unveiled the monument.



WAR RELICS FOUND IN BRONX

Recent excavations in the Bronx have unearthed numerous interesting relics of the British occupation during the New York campaign in the Revolutionary War. A new case containing these relics has been installed in the museum which the Bronx Society of Arts and Sciences is maintaining in the Lorillard Mansion, Bronx Park, New York City.

The collection is the property of Reginald Pelham Bolton, of

No. 638 West 158th street, member of the New York Historical Society and of the Scenic Preservation Society of New York, and William J. Calver, of No. 846 Hewitt place, who collects historic military accoutrements. The exhibits represent nearly two years' work of these men and are among the most interesting of their kind yet disclosed in the Bronx.

Many of the articles are well preserved, but the corrosion of more than a century and a quarter has distorted some of the metallic relics almost past recognition. The display case contains camp axes, bullets, gun flints, pike points, pot hooks, coins bearing the profile of George III. and George II., sundry flakes of quartz, iron hinges, locks, tea cups and other articles of pottery, clay pipes, fragments of Indian earthenware, glass and stone bottles, glasses, horse shoes, a thimble, knives and other cutlery.

The venue of the Bolton-Calver research has been the Jerome reservoir site, formerly that of Fort No. 4 of the British army during the Revolution; Hunt's Point, Heath avenue, which was the camp of Yager's or Emmerich's chasseurs; Kingsbridge road, the site of Fort 2 or Fort Swartwout; Spuyten Duyvil hill, the Moses Devoe house, near Fordham road; vicinity of 231st street and Broadway, the Morris Manor house of old Morisania and the site of Jonas Bronck's house, foot of Willis avenue.

Perhaps the most interesting parts of the collection are from the chasseurs' camp. Knife blades, bullets and pipe bowls, in comparatively good state of preservation, were unearthed here. Some of the pipes are almost as complete as when, hurriedly, no doubt, they were left behind to become covered by a soil which may have entombed their owners. The manufacturers' trade marks are still discernable on some of the pipe bowls.

Six bronze coins of the George III. period, about an inch in diameter and presumably pennies, were found, with pike points, horeshoes and other paraphernalia of troops in encampment, at the site of Fort No. 4, near Sedgwick avenue, Kingsbridge, occupied by British and Hessian troops until September, 1779.

The collection of Mr. Bolton and Mr. Calver is likely to be considerably enlarged, as both of them are still busy with their historical searches.

LINCOLN'S MSS. BRING \$22,000

The famous Lamon collection of Abraham Lincoln documents has been sold through James F. Meegan, of this city, to a New York buyer. It is said the purchase was made for H. E. Huntington, of Los Angeles, who recently paid \$50,000 for the Gutenberg Bible, for about \$22,000.

Mrs. Teillard has written a book entitled "Recollections of Lincoln," in which all of the manuscripts are contained. Following the completion of the work she was approached by Mr. Meegan, and agreed to sell the old manuscripts.

The collection contains twenty-five letters written by Lincoln and two thousand written to him by men prominent at the time of the Civil War, among the writers being General Sherman, W. H. Herndon and W. H. Lamon. The latter two were law partners of the President when he made his home in Illinois.

Among the most historic of the letters was one which, it was generally believed, was written by Lamon, then marshal of the district, denying that the President had asked Lamon to sing a jocular song on the field of Antietam at the time it was covered with dead and dying, but the letter was undoubtedly written by Lincoln himself, as the handwriting shows.

In a letter to his brother, who, it appears, had tried to borrow money from him on many occasions, Lincoln refuses to lend, telling him that he is lazy, and agreeing to give him a dollar to add to every dollar he earned. He also tells his brother that he can earn money right where he is, in Illinois, and that it will not be necessary for him to go to California or any other new country.



FIRST TRAIN ORDER COMMEMORATED

The Erie Railroad dedicated recently at Harriman, N. Y., the new name for the station formerly known as Turners, a monument commemorating the first telegraph train order ever sent over a railroad. This order was transmitted in 1851 when Chas. Minot was General Superintendent of the road.

The line was then known as the New York & Erie Railroad and this is the order Mr. Minot sent:

“To agent and operator at Goshen: Hold the train for further orders. Conductor and engineer Day Express: Run to Goshen regardless of opposing trains.”

This message marked the transition from the days when trains crawled over single track, haphazard from switch to switch, to the present day of speed, limited only by the capacity of the locomotives.

When it is considered that prior to 1851 locomotives had been developed which were perfectly capable of making between forty and fifty miles an hour, and did it as a regular thing, the great difficulty which confronted the train dispatcher in keeping his trains moving without accident may be surmised. As an old railroad man once put it when speaking of these days:

“The only things that limited the speed of a wood-burner were the muscles of the firemen.”

It seems almost impossible to us, accustomed to train orders transmitted by telegraph, to conceive of a day when such a medium did not exist. And yet they had little difficulty in those days. For one thing, no road existed on which there were more than two limited expresses a day. These trains had the right of way and their times for reaching different points along the road were thoroughly established. All local trains, of which there were correspondingly few, were timed so as to reach sidings before the “limited” arrived.

Freight trains were run only at night for the most part, and the divisions were kept clear for their use after the last fast train had passed through. They merely crawled along, and the danger from collision amounted to little or nothing.



RAILROADING BEFORE 1851

Before 1851 the engineer of a train would pull into a station, and, after conferring with the conductor, decide whether to run for the siding at the next station or take the “side” where they were to await a down train. If there was any doubt about

their having time enough in which to make it, they usually decided on the safer course and took the "side" where they were. In this case the passengers were at liberty to pick wild flowers if it were summer or huddle around the old-fashioned base-burner stoves in the ends of the cars if there were snow on the ground.

In those days these delays were taken as a matter of course, and many old-time railroad men look back with regret on the time when the traveling public was philosophical. If there was scant time for a train to make the regular "meeting point," as the designated siding was called, the crew ran little risk, as the engineer of the train coming from the opposite direction would know, not finding the other train on its siding, that it was somewhere along the road, and would run slowly, accordingly, until he picked it up.

When they met, the train having the right of way would wait while the other backed up to the nearest siding, unless they were so close to the other siding that the train having the right of way actually could save time by backing up itself.

It was sixty-one years ago that telegraphic transmission of train orders was established. To-day the railroads of this country are considering installing another system, a system under which train orders will be transmitted by telephone direct to the engineer as he sits in his cab. There are two systems which have been tested and enable the train dispatcher to do this, and the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad now has one division equipped with one of these systems.

DECEMBER, 1912

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*A PLAN of the
RAPIDS,
in the River Ohio,
by
Thos. Hutchins.*

*From A to B is the cutting
Place on the Northern side
of the Chige.
From C to D is the shortest and
shortest carrying Place.
The dotted Line represents the
Channel of the River*



Falls of the Ohio as sketched by Thomas Hutchins in 1766

AMERICANA

December, 1912

Falls of the Ohio

THE BATTLE GROUND OF TRADITION AND HISTORY, THE CARRYING
PLACE OF EARLY NAVIGATION AND THE BIRTHPLACE
OF CIVILIZATION IN KENTUCKY

THESE historic rapids represent a total fall of twenty-seven feet in two and one-half miles and offer the only serious obstruction to navigation of the Ohio river from the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers at Pittsburgh, and in fact for one hundred and twenty-three miles above that point on the Allegheny river, to its mouth, a total distance of one thousand ninety-five miles. In this distance the total fall is six hundred and ninety feet, an average of seven-tenths of a foot to the mile.

The Falls of the Ohio, the "carrying place" of the Aborigines and Indians for six centuries, are formed by the greater resistance to erosion presented by a Palaeozoic coral reef that here constitutes a part of the limestone beds on which the river flows.

We are enabled to reproduce the original appearance of these falls through the possession of a drawing made in 1766 by Captain Thomas Hutchins (1730-1789), who accompanied the sixtieth Royal American regiment under General Henry Bouquet to America in 1764, and was imprisoned in London, England, in 1669 on the charge of corresponding with Benjamin Franklin, then in France. He is said to have lost a fortune of twelve thousand pounds by this imprisonment, and on being released he went to France and thence to America, for a second time, where he joined the United States army and was attached to the staff of General Nathaniel Greene, taking part in the siege

of Charleston, South Carolina. He was, by act of Congress passed May 20, 1785, made geographer-general and instructed to make topographical maps and descriptions of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, Louisiana and Florida.

His geographical work formed the basis of the American Gazetteer, compiled by Doctor Jedidiah Morse and published in 1789. The illustration accompanying this article was drawn when the map-maker and artist was at the Falls in 1766 before the white men had felled the trees, or in any way interfered with the great work of nature, by constructing canals to carry the first flat-boats safely around the barrier.

It was at these Falls that the progress of the Cavalier de la Salle on his journey of discovery, in canoes launched in the Allegheny, in the autumn of 1669, stopped and turned back undecided whether the stream emptied in the Mississippi river or in the Pacific Ocean, but inclined to the latter opinion. It is from this voyage that the river acquired the title *La belle riviere*—(the beautiful river), as it was named on the French maps.

Here in June, 1778, George Rogers Clark, the late deputy-surveyor under Captain Hancock Lee, came as a leader of settlers from Virginia into Kentucky, commissioned by the council of Virginia to protect Kentucky from the savages on the ground as advanced by Clark that "a country which was not worth protecting was not worth saving," and who was afterward commissioned lieutenant-colonel and instructed by Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, to enlist seven companies of soldiers, of fifty men each, and proceed to attack the British post at Kaskaskia, made his camping ground on Corn Island at the Falls of the Ohio, and on his return for the expedition which followed, found in 1779 that the garrison he had left on Corn Island had constructed a fort on the mainland, and he forthwith occupied the fort and submitted to the settlers a plan for a proposed town which, had it been adopted, would have made Louisville one of the most beautiful cities on the American continent.

Here Col. Richard C. Anderson, father of General Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter in 1861, settled after the close of the Revolutionary War and established in the wilderness his celebrated home, "Soldiers' Retreat," and from this point on the

the Ohio River he shipped the first cargo of produce, in a vessel constructed under his direction, and at his expense, by the Mississippi River and New Orleans direct to Europe, in 1797.

Here Colonel "Dick" Taylor settled, locating six miles from the fort on land selected by his brother Hancock Taylor, and helped in holding in check the unfriendly Indians who disputed the ownership of their rich lands and constantly harassed the new settlers; and in this home his grandson, Richard Taylor Jacobs (1825-1903), was born, became one of the defenders, first in the Legislature and then under General Robert Anderson, of the soil of Kentucky from the inroads made by the Confederate armies in the Civil War.

Here Francis Durrett of Spottsylvania county, Virginia, came as an Indian fighter under Geo. Rogers Clark and settled after the campaign in Henry county, and his grandson, Reuben Thomas Durrett the historian, founder of the Filson Club, and a celebrated lawyer and jurist of Louisville was born.

Here John Filson, the early historian of Kentucky, learned from the lips of the earliest settlers at the Falls, the traditional history of Modoc and of the annihilation of the Welsh Indians by the red men, centuries before the settlement about this Falls by the white men; and here he heard of the deeds of valor and daring performed by Anderson, Boone, Clark, Durrett, Taylor and their associate Indian fighters in planting civilization and opening the Ohio to the commerce of the world.

The Great Fire in New York, Sept. 20, 1776

WAS THE CITY FIRED BY THE PATRIOT CITIZENS?

Report as printed in the New York Gazette, September 30, 1776, and report made by General Washington from Harlem Heights, September 23, 1776.

THE first great fire that visited the city of New York was in 1741, and it totally destroyed the business portion of the city. The same year a pestilence followed which decimated the population. The city then enjoyed freedom from great disaster for thirty-five years. General Earl Howe took possession of the city September 14, 1776, on its evacuation by the Continental army under Washington, and it had been under British military rule for only a single month when the second great fire occurred, September 20, 1776.

Washington and his army were encamped and fortified on Harlem Heights and gave no promise to the loyal subjects of King George in the city of an extended period of peace. Loyalists made up the great majority of the inhabitants of New York and included the rich merchants and bankers who were anticipating from the presence of the British army, a period of prosperity such as universally accompanied the presence of a standing army quartered in a seaport city.

The patriots who for business reasons, family ties, or extreme poverty, had been unable to leave the city with the Continental army, had high hopes that their great leader, upon being reinforced by levies from the adjacent counties in New York and New Jersey, would be able to force the army of Howe to evacuate New York, as it had Boston in March of the same year.

This was the condition of affairs in New York on Friday,

(1100)

September 20, 1776, when the second great fire broke out.

Whether by accident, or by design on the part of the few Patriots left in the city, the fire was started on Whitehall street on the evening of September 20, burned for the ensuing twelve hours and destroyed one thousand of the finest stores, residences and churches, covering one-fourth of the total area of the city.

In the New York Gazette of September 30, 1776, the following account of the fire, viewed from the standpoint of the Royalist newspaper, is printed:

“On Saturday, the 21st inst., we had a terrible fire in the City, which consumed about 1,000 houses, or nearly a fourth of the whole city.

“The following is the best account we can collect of the melancholy event. The fire broke out at first at the most southerly part of the City, near White Hall, and was discovered between twelve and one o’clock in the morning, the wind blowing fresh from the south, and the weather exceeding dry. The rebel army having carried off all the bells of the City, the alarm could not be speedily communicated, and very few of the citizens were in town, most of them having been driven out by the calamities of war, and several of the first rank having been sent prisoners of war to New England and other distant parts. A few minutes after the fire was discovered at White Hall, it was observed to break out in five or six other places at a considerable distance.

“In this dreadful situation, when the whole city was threatened with destruction, Major General Robertson, who had the chief command, sent immediately for two regiments that were encamped near the city, placed guards in several streets, and took every other precaution that was practicable to ward off the impending ruin. Lord Howe ordered the boats of the fleet to be manned, and after landing a large number of officers and seamen to assist us, the boats were stationed on each side of the city in the East and North rivers, and the lines near the royal army were extended across the island, as it manifestly appeared the city was designedly set on fire.

“The fire raged with inconceivable violence, and in its de-

structive progress swept away all the buildings between Broad street and the North River, almost as high as the City Hall; and from thence all the houses between Broadway and the North river as far as King's College, a few only excepted. Long before the main fire reached Trinity Church, that large, ancient and venerable edifice was in flames, which baffled every effort to suppress them. The steeple, which was 140 feet high, the upper part wood and placed on an elevated situation, resembled a vast pyramid of fire, exhibiting a grand and most awful spectacle. Several women and children perished in the fire. Their shrieks joined to the roaring of the flames, the crash of falling houses and the widespread ruin, which everywhere appeared, formed a scene of horror great beyond description, which was still heightened by the darkness of night. Besides Trinity Church, the rector's house, the charity school, the old Lutheran Church, and many other fine buildings were consumed. St. Paul's Church and King College were directly in the line of the fire, but were saved with great difficulty. After raging about ten hours, the fire was extinguished between ten and eleven o'clock, A. M.

“During this complicated scene of devastation and distress, at which the most savage heart might relent, several persons were discovered with large bundles of matches dipped in melted rosin and brimstone attempting to set fire to the houses. A New England man, who had a captain's commission under the Continental Congress, and was in their service, was seized with these dreadful implements of ruin in his hands. General Robertson rescued two of those incendiaries from the enraged populace, who had otherwise consigned them to the flames, and reserved them for the hand of deliberate justice. One White, a carpenter, was observed to cut the leather buckets which conveyed the water. He also wounded with a cutlass a woman who was active in handling the water. This provoked the spectators to such a degree that they instantly hung him up. One of those villains set fire to the college and was seized. Many others were detected in the like crime and secured.

“The officers of the army and navy, the seamen and the soldiers greatly exerted themselves, often with the utmost hazard

to themselves, and showed all that alertness and activity for which they are justly celebrated on such occasions. To their vigorous efforts in pulling down such wooden buildings as would conduct the fire, it is owing, under Providence, that the whole city was not consumed; for the number of inhabitants was small, and the pumps and fire engines were very much out of order. This last circumstance together with the removal of our bells, the time and the place of the fire's breaking out, when the wind was in the south, the city being set on fire in so many different places at the same time, so many incendiaries being caught in the very act of setting fire to houses; these to mention no other particulars, clearly evince beyond the possibility of doubt, that this diabolical affair was the result of a preconcerted, deliberate scheme. Thus the persons who called themselves our friends and protectors, were the perpetrators of this atrocious deed, which in guilt and villany is not inferior to the Gun Powder plot; whilst those, who were held up as our enemies, were the people who gallantly stepped forth at the risk of their lives to snatch us from destruction.

“Our distress was very great before, but this disaster has increased it tenfold. Many hundreds of families have lost their all, and are reduced from a state of affluence to the lowest ebb of want and wretchedness—destitute of shelter, food and clothing.

“Surely there must be some chosen curse,—some secret thunder in the stores of Heaven, red with uncommon wrath to blast the miscreants who thus wantonly sport with the lives, property, and happiness of their fellow creatures, and unfeelingly doom them to inevitable ruin.”

General Washington in a letter dated “Headquarters, Heights of Harlem, September 23, 1776,” one week before the issue of the Gazette from which we copy this account, addressed to Jonathan Trumbull, paymaster of the Northern Department, gave to the patriots beyond the British lines, the news of this fire and of the punishment meted out to the supposed incendiaries, as follows:

“On Friday night, about eleven or twelve o'clock, a fire broke

out in the City of New York, which burning rapidly till after sunrise next morning, destroyed a great number of houses. By what means it happened we do not know; but the gentleman, who brought the letter from General Howe last night, and who was one of his Aides de Camp, informed Col. Reed that several of our countrymen had been punished with various deaths on account of it, some by hanging, others by burning, etc., alleging that they were apprehended when committing the act."

Notable Personages in American History Who Should be Better Known

RICHARD TAYLOR JACOB, PATRIOT, FRONTIERSMAN, SOLDIER, LEGIS-
LATOR, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, INSTRUMENT IN SAV-
ING THE STATE OF KENTUCKY TO THE UNION

RICHARD TAYLOR JACOB was born at the home of his grandfather, Colonel Richard Taylor of Oldham county, Kentucky, March 13, 1825. He was a son of John Jeremiah and Lucy Donald (Robertson) Jacob and a descendant of Zachariah and Susan Jacob of Ramsey, England, who settled in Maryland in 1740; of Donald and Rachel (Rogers) Robertson of Virginia and of Colonel James Taylor of Carlisle, England, who settled in South Virginia in 1682, and was the progenitor of James Madison, fourth president of the United States and through Isaac and Mathilda (Taylor) Robertson, of General Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States. Upon reaching his majority, Richard Taylor Jacob joined an immigrant party on May 11, 1846, which undertook the overland route to California. At Fort Laramie he was chosen second in command of the expedition and with only eight of the original explorers he reached the frontier of California, September 9, 1846, where he found the Californians in rebellion against the Mexican government. He at once raised a company of volunteers to join Major Fremont who had already been elected governor of California and was cooperating with Commodore Stockton, U. S. N., in maintaining United States authority. He was made captain of his company which was made up of mounted men. He served under Fremont until after the surrender of the Mexican army at Los Angeles, when he returned to the United States by way of the Isthmus of Panama.

He reached New Orleans in 1847 where he offered his service to fight with his distinguished relative in the Mexican war, but

failing to receive a commission he returned to Kentucky where he raised a company of volunteers for service in Mexico, but which service was not accepted. He then proceeded to Washington as a witness in the court-martial of Colonel Fremont, and while in that city he married on January 17, 1848, Sarah, third daughter of Senator Thomas H. and Elizabeth (McDowell) Benton and sister of Jesse Benton Fremont, wife of Colonel John Charles Fremont, the Pathfinder and conqueror of California. They resided on a farm in Missouri until 1854, when they removed to the family homestead in Oldham county, Kentucky.

He was representative in the Legislature of Kentucky, 1859-61; a Breckenridge and Lane presidential elector in 1861; a member of the committee on Federal relations in the Kentucky Legislature where he sought abeyance to the rights of the government of the United States until the questions of the secession of the State could be submitted to a vote of the people. He drew up the report which was submitted to the house in favor of remaining loyal to the government, and it was adopted by the Legislature on a vote taken January 27, 1861, of forty-eight ayes and forty-seven noes. Governor Magoffin thereupon issued a message, ordering the armies of both the North and the South to keep off the soil of Kentucky, and when President Lincoln called for troops, Magoffin refused to furnish the quota assessed upon Kentucky, and in order to save the State to the Union, Captain Jacob joined with other Union legislators in endorsing the governor's position, and on May 24, 1861, the State Legislature voted forty-eight to forty-seven in favor of mediatorial neutrality.

In July, 1861, when the Legislature ordered an election for new members it resulted in returning seventy-six Union men and twenty-four Secessionists, with senators in like proportion.

In the Legislature in September, 1861, he demanded through a resolution offered to that body, that the three Confederate armies within the borders of the State should withdraw unconditionally and the Legislature by a vote of seventy-six to twenty-six in the House, and twenty-five to nine in the Senate, agreed to the proposition. He thereupon offered a set of resolutions reciting that the Federal army, as it occupied its own soil for purposes of defence, had a constitutional right to remain, and the

resolutions were adopted by both houses without calling the roll.

When General Anderson, the hero of Sumter, was placed in command of the Department of the Cumberland, he authorized Captain Jacob to raise three regiments of infantry, but the purpose of Anderson was thwarted by Governor Magoffin's order of consolidation. He remained inactive up to June, 1862, when he proposed through the public press to be one of 2,000 men to take their own horses and drive General John H. Morgan out of the State. On July 27, 1862, he obtained authority from the United States government to raise the 12th Kentucky regiment of cavalry for twelve months' service, to defend the soil of Kentucky from Bragg's invasion, and he raised, in five days, men and horses to fill two regiments. He commanded the 12th Kentucky Cavalry, and with only half of his regiment he took part in the disastrous battle of Richmond, Kentucky, under General William Nelson, October 3, 1862, when the Federal army lost 206 killed, 844 wounded and 4,303 captured. On October 1 he marched with Buell from Louisville, on October 3, with half his regiment he encountered Colonel Scott's Confederate brigade, and on October 6, drove them as well as the Secession Legislature out of Frankfort, the State capital. He soon after encountered General Kirby Smith, who with Bragg was in a determined race with Buell for the possession of Louisville. In this race he was desperately wounded, separated from his command and barely escaped capture, when rescued by eleven men from the 14th Ohio sent out by Lieutenant-Colonel Este. He was invalided at his home in Louisville, and while there he suffered the loss of his devoted wife who died while in attendance on him, and it was not till January 14, 1863, that he was able to rejoin his regiment.

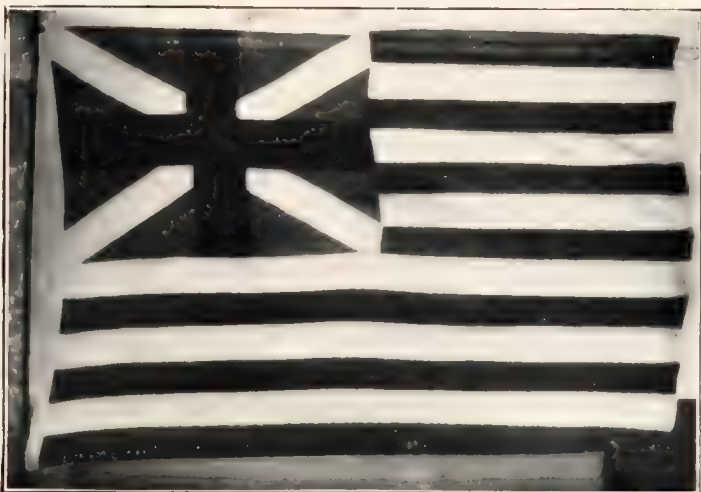
On May 11, 1863, he resumed command and defeated an overwhelming cavalry force of General Morgan at Horse Shoe Bend, after pursuing that general along the Cumberland to the crossing of the Ohio at Blandenburg. He then pursued Morgan through Indiana and Ohio and was largely instrumental in his capture near Salineville, July 26, 1863, with the 364 officers and men of his command. His regiment was discharged at the end of its term of enlistment and eighteen days after Colonel Jacob was mustered out, September 9, 1863.

He was elected to the office of lieutenant-governor of Kentucky, serving 1863-64, and was a presidential elector on the McClellan and Pendleton ticket in 1864. He opposed the enlistment of negro troops, feeling that it helped to destroy the growing Union sentiment in the border states and hindered the enlistment of Union men or encourage their desertions from the army. When Lincoln was re-elected President in 1864, General S. G. Burbridge ordered the arrest of Colonel Jacob and he was taken to Louisville without trial, or a chance to know the nature of his offense or to meet his accusers, and from thence carried across the country to within the lines of the Confederate army.

He scorned an offer of high rank and important command in the Confederate army, reached the Confederate capital and from there he sent a letter at the hands of George D. Prentice of the Louisville Courier to President Lincoln, by which he obtained safe conduct through the Federal lines. On reaching Washington January 16, 1865, the story of his arrest and persecution not only resulted in his being given safe conduct to his home in Louisville, but a few weeks later General Burbridge was superseded in his command by General Palmer.

Kentucky being under military rule, Colonel Jacob was not received with favor, notwithstanding his army service and the friendship of the President, and this treatment caused him to manifest his determination and personal courage by free speech. It did not, however, lessen his loyalty to the government, and in 1867 he was the administration candidate for representative from the Louisville district to the 40th Congress, but he was defeated by Asa P. Grover, elected by ex-Confederates, and in 1882 he was in the same way defeated as clerk of appeals by J. H. McHenry. He however, in the election, received about 75,000 votes. He was a comrade of the Grand Army of the Republic, and was elected to the post of general-commanding the Union Veterans' Union, of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Indiana. He also served as park commissioner of the city of Louisville, 1895-99.

Colonel Jacob married as his second wife on June 6, 1865, Laura, daughter of Dr. Wilson, of Lexington, Kentucky, and by this marriage he had four sons and one daughter. His second wife died September 21, 1895, and he died in 1903 at his home in Louisville, Ky.



1. Washington Headquarters Flag
2. Flag of Gansevoort's 2d Regiment

The Stars and Stripes on Fort Schuyler, August 3, 1777

THIS FORT WAS KNOWN AS STANWIX, 1757-73, SCHUYLER, 1776-81,
AND AGAIN STANWIX, 1781-1814

THE FIRST UNITED STATES FORT OVER WHICH THE NATIONAL
FLAG WAVED DURING ACTUAL BATTLE

THE flag used in all the British colonies in North America up to 1777, was the Union Jack, the military flag of England. Under this flag, with various modifications, the early battles of the Revolution were fought. The first modification was in the flag first hoisted by General Washington, January 2, 1776, at his headquarters at Cambridge. It was known as the "Cambridge Flag" and the "Flag of the Union" and was a blue field with the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, bordered by thirteen stripes representing the thirteen colonies. This flag received a salute of thirteen guns and thirteen cheers.

In New England the colonial flag had a Pine Tree in the Union Jack quartered by a red cross on a blue or white field. This flag was borne on the earliest armed vessels sent out by Washington from the Massachusetts ports.

The first naval flag recognized by Congress was white with a green tree and "Appeal to Heaven" and this flag appeared on the floating batteries constructed for defence.

In Trumbull's picture of the Battle of Bunker Hill, the flag under which the patriots fought was the flag of the Massachusetts cruisers with the British Union supplanted by a white field with a green tree in the center, but it is generally conceded that the patriots fought under a red flag signifying defiance.

The troops of Pennsylvania and the vessels fitted out at Philadelphia carried the flag of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the troops and vessels from New York carried the "Excelsior" flag, the coat of arms of New York colony. The use of these two standards gave rise to the derisive appellation "The Goose Flag" as applied by the British soldiery to the flag of the New York and Pennsylvania troops and ships, as each of the standards give prominence to a goose or swan as a crest.

FORT STANWIX IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

Fort Stanwix was constructed by the British government under direction of General Stanwix in 1757, at a cost of £60,000. It was erected near a dismantled log fort hastily built the year before, but condemned as inadequate for the purpose of defence. The site of Fort Stanwix was at the Oneida carrying place on the watershed between the Great Lakes and Hudson's river. It commanded the principal line of communication between New York and Upper Canada and formed one of line of forts erected on the border that year. The first use to which the fort was placed was as a depot for stores to provision the Colonial army invading the French territory of Canada. It was to this new and strong fort that the remnant of the provincial army, including the New York regiments, took refuge after the disastrous defeat they met under Colonel Munro at Fort William Henry, the New York regiments spending the winter of 1757-8 in the fort over which the flag of the Second New York regiment floated in conjunction with the Union Jack.

The fort was not the scene of any great battle or the object of assault by the French and Indians, the garrison merely guarding the ample stores accumulated and distributed therefrom.

In the autumn of 1768 the historic treaty with the Six Nations was negotiated here by Sir William Johnson, by which the Iroquois Indians represented by 3,200 of their braves, gathered at Fort Stanwix, agreed to surrender their title to the vast tract of territory which afterwards constituted the State of Kentucky, western Virginia and the western part of Pennsylvania; the price agreed upon being \$10,000 to be paid to them by Sir William

Johnson in money and goods. Soon after the close of these negotiations, with the prospect of a long period of peace, the fort was dismantled and the garrison withdrawn.

In 1776 the Congress made General Philip Schuyler (1733-1804) one of the four major generals in the Continental army, and he was given command of the Northern Division with instructions to organize an army of Patriots and with this army to invade Canada. One of his first projects was to rebuild and refortify dismantled Fort Stanwix and he renamed it Fort Schuyler. As he had been too ill to advance into Canada with the army, which was placed under the command of General Richard Montgomery (1736-1775), he made Fort Schuyler his headquarters and there found plenty of employment in diplomacy and active service in counteracting the intrigues of Sir William Johnson and his powerful family and Indian allies.

FORT SCHUYLER IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Peter Gansevoort (1749-1812) was commissioned as major of the 2nd New York regiment by the Provincial Congress in July, 1775, and with his regiment joined the expedition against Quebec under General Richard Montgomery, who had returned from England after the close of the French and Indian war.

On returning to America as a private citizen, Montgomery espoused the revolutionary cause and under General Philip Schuyler led the ill-fated expedition against Montreal and Quebec. Major Gansevoort was in Montgomery's command and on March 16, 1776, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and on November 21, 1776 was made colonel of the 2nd New York regiment and assigned to the command of Fort George. In 1777 he was placed in command of Fort Schuyler and he had within the fort, a garrison of about 750 men, levies from the State of New York, which included the third regiment of which he was colonel, and which regiment was known as Gansevoort's regiment, the flag of which regiment was the one at Fort Schuyler which was superseded by the Stars and Stripes, August 6, 1777.

While in command of the fort, Gansevoort was besieged by

British troops under Saint Leger who had a force of about 1,700 British soldiers, augmented by the large body of Sir William Johnson's Tories and Indians. During the siege, General Nicholas Herkimer, commander of the militia of Tryon county, hurried to the relief of Gansevoort, but after a desperate battle in which Herkimer was mortally wounded, his forces were compelled to fall back without affording help to the besieged fort. Meantime Gansevoort made a sortie from the fort, drove back the enemy and captured a large supply of provisions which he carried back to the fort. This exploit encouraged the garrison and in celebration of the signal victory, they improvised a national flag after the pattern adopted by Congress, June 14, 1777, having a field of thirteen stripes alternate white and red with a union of thirteen stars (white) on a blue ground "representing a new constellation." In the same resolution providing a design for a national flag it was resolved that Captain John Paul Jones be appointed to command the ship "Ranger." Thus, as if by happy chance, two widely divergent acts were coupled in one resolution of Congress, and John Paul Jones was placed in command of the first ship in the United States navy to carry this flag to the old world, and on February 13, 1778, to see it recognized "in the fullest and most complete manner by the flags of France" in Quiborne Bay by the French squadrons anchored in that road.

It was after the decisive battle of Oriskany that took place on August 6, 1777, that Gansevoort having returned from his successful sortie, looked around for material out of which to make a veritable "Stars and Stripes," in honor of the great victory. A white shirt and a blue jacket, together with a red petticoat, furnished by a soldier's wife, were quickly transformed into a National flag, and it was hoisted to the masthead of the flag-pole of the fort amid cheers and its stars and stripes confronted the astonished besiegers who continued the siege up to August 22, when a strong force under General Arnold caused them to retreat in great haste to Oswego. It was no doubt a surprise to the garrison to learn that their flag flung to the breeze August 6, 1777, was the first National flag to wave over a United States fort during an actual battle, and that they had by

their valor held the army of Saint Leger back from joining Burgoyne at Saratoga, and thus became largely instrumental in causing the surrender of his entire army to General Gates, October 17, 1777.

Colonel Gansevoort received from Congress a vote of thanks for his very important service in paralyzing the movements of Saint Leger's large army, and in 1781 he was appointed brigadier general of the New York militia, and in 1809 of the United States army.

Fort Schuyler was dismantled and in 1781 it was destroyed by a flood and fire. It was immediately rebuilt and given its original name "Fort Stanwix" and in the new fort on October 22, 1784, Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, acting in behalf of the Continental Congress, negotiated an important treaty with the Six Nations. Gansevoort's regiment, afterwards known as the 3d New York, were again defenders of the old State ensign at Yorktown and the flag was carried when Cornwallis surrendered Oct. 7, 1781. It was brought home and now hangs in a mahogany frame in the rooms of the Historical Society at Albany, the only State flag in existence that served with the New York State troops in the Revolution.

The Demand for Citizenship for Women

NO NEW THING IN THE UNITED STATES

- 1647—Margaret Brent petitioned for a seat in the Maryland Legislature. She was heir of Lord Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, and executor of the estates of both, in the colony. Her petition for a “place and voyce” in the Legislature was hotly debated for some hours and finally denied.
- 1691-1700—During these nine years the women of Massachusetts under the Province Charter of Massachusetts, voted for all executive officers.
- 1776—Abigail Adams, in 1776, wrote to her husband, John Adams, at the time a delegate in the Continental Congress, as follows: “I long to hear that you have declared for independency, and in the new code of laws, which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire that you would remember the ladies and be more generous to them than were your ancestors. If particular care is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation.” Continental Congress however left the subject of suffrage to be dealt with by the states.
- 1787—New Jersey, in 1787, conferred suffrage on all its inhabitants worth two hundred and fifty dollars, male and female alike, and the women of New Jersey actually voted on the momentous question of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States that went into operation in 1789. The law granting them the franchise was in force for eighteen years, and in 1807 was repealed.

- 1836—Ernestine L. Rose, the daughter of a Polish Rabbi, was the first woman in the United States to take the platform and urge the women of America to appeal for the right to vote upon questions affecting their interests. This was in 1836, at a time that the common law of England was in full force in the United States. She circulated a petition for a law that would enable married women to hold property, but she failed to receive the immediate support of the women and only five signed her petition. She persisted in her efforts, however, and in 1840 she had a considerable following, her most notable convert being Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The two continued their efforts for women's rights.
- 1840—Through the efforts of Ernestine Rose and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the State of New York, in 1840, through its legislature, conferred property rights upon married women and this gained, they directed their efforts to agitating the right of suffrage.
- 1848—The first Woman's Rights Convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York, and they took up the question of woman's right to education and to the same consideration before the law, as was accorded to men. This was in controversion to the Common Law of England then still in force. The same year at a national convention held at Rochester, New York, Belva Lockwood was nominated for President of the United States on a platform advocating woman suffrage.
- 1851—Susan B. Anthony first met Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1851, and the meeting marks the beginning of an active political campaign for the rights of women. The same year the first woman's rights delegation went to Albany, New York, and petitioned the State Legislature to give them a hearing, and they persistently continued the task yearly except during the period of the Civil War. In 1869 a bill was presented before the Legislature of the State asking for municipal suffrage, and it found many supporters among the legislators, and when put to vote resulted in sixty-five ayes and fifty noes, a constitutional majority,

but before the applause had subsided and the vote announced, two legislators changed their votes and left the result sixty-three to fifty-two, less than a constitutional majority, and the women lost. In 1895, on March 14, six men presented a petition of mammoth proportions for the suffrage cause, and introduced a bill conferring the right upon women and it passed the Assembly by a vote of eighty-one ayes and thirty-one noes, and in the Senate it was passed twenty ayes and five noes. A blunder, either real or for a purpose, was found in the draft of the bill which substituted the word "resident" for "citizens," and the bill was declared void.

- 1869—Wyoming women were given the same right to vote with men in the territory in 1869, and the right was conferred by the State constitutional convention of 1889, under which constitution the territory was admitted as a State in 1890.
- 1870—The women of Utah voted from 1870 until disfranchised by the United States Congress by the passage of Edmund's Act passed March 22, 1882.
- 1912—Ten states in the United States had declared for Woman Suffrage, according to the returns of the November election, 1912, and the woman suffragists of the nation celebrated the victory at Carnegie Hall, New York, Wednesday evening, November 13, 1912.

The Filson Club and its Publication

BY COL. REUBEN T. DURRETT, A.M., LL.D.

ITS FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, 1884-1913

THE Filson Club is an historical, biographical, and literary association located in Louisville, Ky., and in 1908 had on its rolls three hundred and twenty active members, all natives of Kentucky. It was named after John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky, whose quaint little volume of one hundred and eighteen pages was published at Wilmington, Del., in 1784. The club was organized May 15, 1884, and incorporated October 5, 1891, for the purpose, as expressed in its charter, of collecting, preserving and publishing the history of Kentucky and adjacent states, and cultivating a taste for historic inquiry and study among its members.

While its especial field of operations was thus theoretically limited, its practical workings were confined to no locality. Each member is at liberty to choose a subject, prepare a paper, and read it to the Club, among whose archives it is to be filed. From these papers thus accumulated, selections are made for publication, and there have now been issued twenty-three volumes of these publications. They are all paper-bound quartos, printed from pica old-style type on pure white antique paper with broad margins, untrimmed edges and illustrated with half tone illustrations.

These volumes have been admired both at home and abroad, not only for their original and valuable matter, but also for their tasteful and comely appearance. They are not printed for sale in the commercial sense of the term, but only for distribution among the members of the Club, and only limited editions to

meet the wants of the Club, are published. The titles and authors of the published papers are as follows, all of which are illustrated:

1. JOHN FILSON, the first historian of Kentucky. An account of his life and writings, principally from original sources, prepared for The Filson Club and read at its second meeting in Louisville, June 26, 1884, by Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Filson, a facsimile of one of his letters, and a photo-lithographic reproduction of his map of Kentucky printed at Philadelphia in 1784.

2. THE WILDERNESS ROAD: A description of the routes of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky. Prepared for The Filson Club by Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of the Club. Illustrated with a map showing the routes of travel.

3. THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY, from the printing of the first paper west of the Alleghanies, August 11, 1787, to the establishment of the Daily Press, 1830. Prepared for The Filson Club by William Henry Perrin, member of the Club. Illustrated with facsimiles of pages of the Kentucky Gazette and Farmer's Library, a view of the first printing house in Kentucky, and likenesses of John Bradford, Shadrack Penn, and George D. Prentice.

4. LIFE AND TIMES OF JUDGE CALEB WALLACE, sometime a Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky. By the Reverend William H. Whitsitt, D. D., member of the Club.

5. AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, Louisville, Kentucky, prepared for the Semi-Centennial Celebration, October 6, 1889. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of the Reverend William Jackson, the Reverend Edmund T. Perkins, D. D., and views of the church as first built in 1839 and as it appeared in 1889.

6. THE POLITICAL BEGINNINGS OF KENTUCKY: A narrative of public events bearing on the history of the State up to the time of its admission into the American Union. By Colonel

John Mason Brown, member of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author.

7. **THE CENTENARY OF KENTUCKY:** Proceedings at the celebration by The Filson Club, Wednesday, June 1, 1892, of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Kentucky as an independent State into the Federal Union. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of President Durrett, Major Stanton, Sieur LaSalle, and General George Rogers Clark, and facsimiles of the music and songs of the Centennial Banquet.

8. **THE CENTENARY OF LOUISVILLE:** A paper read before the Southern Historical Association, Saturday, May 1, 1880, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the city of Louisville as an incorporated town under an act of the Virginia Legislature. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Colonel Durrett, Sieur LaSalle, and General George Rogers Clark.

9. **THE POLITICAL CLUB, Danville, Kentucky, 1786-1790.** Being an account of an early Kentucky debating society, from the original papers recently found. By Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of the Club.

10. **THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF RAFINESQUE.** Prepared for The Filson Club and read at its meeting Monday, April 2, 1894. By Richard Ellsworth Call, M. A., M. Sc., M. D., member of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Rafinesque and facsimiles of pages of his *Fishes of the Ohio* and *Botany of Louisville*.

11. **TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.** Its origin, rise, decline, and fall. Prepared for The Filson Club by Robert Peter, M. D., and his daughter, Miss Johanna Peter, members of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Doctor Peter.

12. **BRYANT'S STATION** and the Memorial Proceedings held on its site under the auspices of the Lexington Chapter D. A. R., August 18, 1896, in honor of its heroic mothers and daughters. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of officers of the Lexington Chapter, D. A. R., President Durrett

of the Filson Club, Major Stanton, Professor Ranck, Colonel Young, and Doctor Todd, members of the Club, and full-page views of Bryant's Station and its spring, and of the battlefield of the Blue Licks.

13. **THE FIRST EXPLORATIONS OF KENTUCKY.** The Journals of Doctor Thomas Walker, 1750, and of Colonel Christopher Gist, 1751. Edited by Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, Vice-President of the Club. Illustrated with a map of Kentucky showing the routes of Walker and Gist throughout the State, with a view of Castle Hill, the residence of Doctor Walker, and a likeness of Colonel Johnston.

14. **THE CLAY FAMILY.** Part First—The Mother of Henry Clay, by Zachary F. Smith, member of the Club. Part Second—The Genealogy of the Clays, by Mrs. Mary Rogers Clay, member of the Club. Illustrated with a full-page halftone likeness of Henry Clay, of each of the authors, and a full-page picture of the Clay coat-of-arms, also four full-page grouped illustrations, each containing four likenesses of members of the Clay family.

15. **THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.** Part First—The Battle and Battle-ground; Part Second—Comment of the Press; Part Third—Roll of the Army commanded by General Harrison. By Captain Alfred Pirtle, member of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author and likenesses of William Henry Harrison and Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daveiss and Elkswatawa, "The Prophet," together with three full-page views and a plot of the battle-ground.

16. **BOONESBOROUGH,** a pioneer town of Kentucky. Its origin, progress, decline, and final extinction. By George W. Ranck, historian of Lexington, Kentucky, etc., and member of the Club. Illustrated with copious half-tone views of its site and its fort, with likenesses of the author and of Daniel Boone, and a picture of Boone's principal relics.

17. **THE OLD MASTERS OF THE BLUEGRASS.** By General Samuel W. Price, member of the Club. Consisting of biographic sketches of the distinguished Kentucky artists Matthew H. Jouett, Joseph H. Bush, John Grimes, Oliver Frazer, Louis Morgan, Joel T. Hart, and Samuel W. Price, with halftone likenesses of the artists and specimens of their work.

18. **THE BATTLE OF THE THAMES.** By Colonel Bennett H. Young, member of the Club. Presenting a review of the causes which led to the battle, the preparations made for it, the scene of the conflict, and the victory. Illustrated with a steel engraving of the author, halftone likenesses of the principal actors and scenes and relics from the battlefield. To which is added an appendix containing a list of the officers and privates engaged.

19. **THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.** By Zachary F. Smith, member of the Club. Presenting a full account of the forces engaged, the preparations made, the preliminary conflicts which led up to the final battle and the victory to the Americans on the 8th of January, 1815. Illustrated with full-page likenesses of the author, of Generals Jackson and Adair, of Governors Shelby and Slaughter, and maps of the country and scenes from the battlefield, to which is added a list of Kentuckians in the battle.

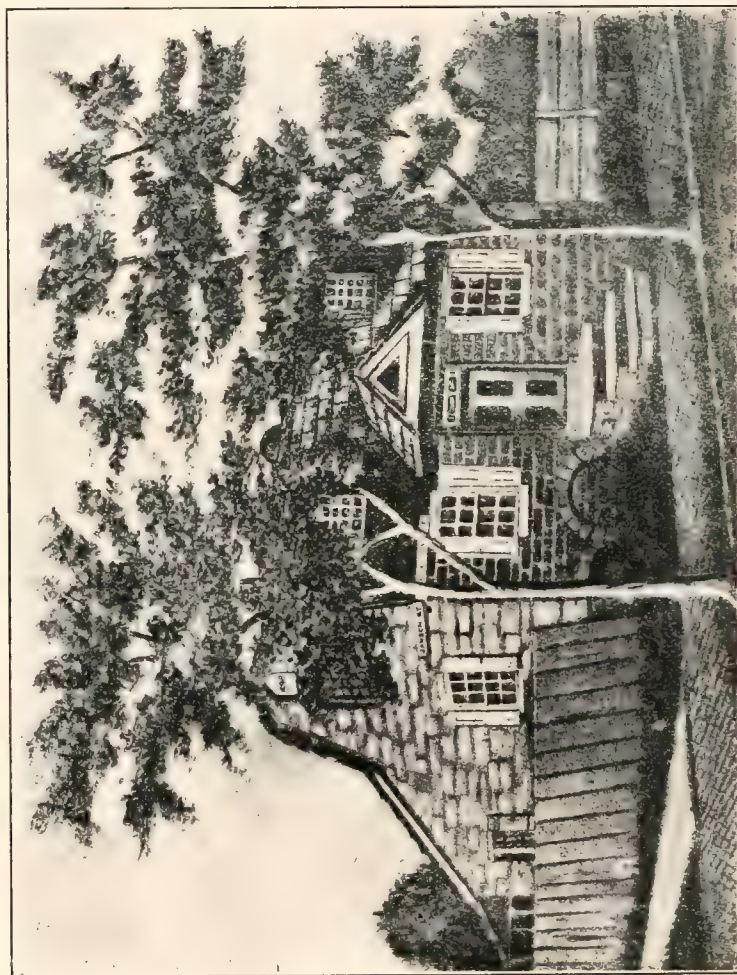
20. **THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.** By Doctor Robert Peter, deceased. Prepared for publication by his daughter, Miss Johanna Peter, member of the Club. Illustrated with full-page likenesses of the author and principal professors, and a view of the old medical hall and its janitor.

21. **LOPEZ'S EXPEDITIONS TO CUBA.** By A. C. Quisenberry, member of the Club. Presenting a detailed account of the Cardenas and the Bahia Honda expeditions, with the names of the officers and men, as far as ascertainable, who were engaged in them. Illustrated with full-page likenesses of A. C. Quisenberry the author, General Narciso Lopez commander-in-chief, Colonel John T. Pickett, Colonel Theodore O'Hara, Colonel Thomas T. Hawkins, Colonel William Logan Crittenden, Captain Robert H. Breckenridge, Lieutenant John Carl Johnston, and landscape views of Cuba, Rose Hill, Moro Castle, and a common human bone-heap of a Cuban cemetery. In the appendix, besides other valuable matter, will be found a full list of The Filson Club publications and of the members of the Club.

22. **THE QUEST FOR A LOST RACE.** By Thomas E. Pickett, M. D., member of the Club. Presenting the theory of Paul B. Du Chaillu, an eminent ethnologist and explorer, that the English-

speaking people are descended from the Scandinavians rather than the Teutons, from the Normans instead of the Germans. Examples of similar customs and peculiarities between the Scandinavians and English are given, and the work illustrated with half-tone likenesses of the author, of William the Conqueror, of DuChaillu, and of "Our Beautiful Scandinavian," with maps of Scandinavia and Northumbria, and with likenesses of a number of distinguished Kentuckians whose names, aspects, and habits indicate descent from the Scandinavians or Norman-French.

23. TRADITIONS OF THE EARLIEST VISITS OF FOREIGNERS TO NORTH AMERICA, the first formed and first inhabited of the continents. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. An attempt to show that history, tradition, and science favor the probability that the East was originally peopled from the West, that the first Oriental visitors found this country already with occupants, and that America was really the first formed and first inhabited of the continents. The principal pre-Columbian discoveries are cited, and ample space given to the tradition that Prince Madoc planted a Welsh colony in America in the Twelfth century which at one time occupied the country at the Falls of the Ohio. Copiously illustrated with half-tone views of mountains, valleys, castles, churches, abbeys, etc., in Wales, the native country of the colony, a view of the Falls of the Ohio at the time the colony may be supposed to have dwelt there, and a likeness of the author. (This paper will appear serially in *Americana* in 1913, to begin with the January number.)



The Papen House

The Papen-Johnson House in Existence 1698=1883

THE FIRST SPECIMEN OF GERMAN ARCHITECTURAL SKILL IN STONE
IN GERMANTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

THE Papen-House, of which we reproduce a drawing engraved for the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch to illustrate Westcott's History of Philadelphia, is known as one of the best examples of early Colonial Dutch architecture. A noted architect once said that the masonry in Germantown was the best in the United States, a statement abundantly confirmed when the old Papen-Johnson House was demolished in 1883, the solid walls giving away only after repeated charges of dynamite. This house came into the possession of the Johnson family early in the eighteenth century, and it became thereafter known as the Johnson House. In the American Revolution at the battle of Germantown, Col. Thomas Proctor planted two cannon directly in front of the house to silence the musketry of the British who held possession of the Chew House opposite. That this house, historic in point of age and of Revolutionary recollections and so important a landmark of early settlement, should have been torn down in its very prime to make way for modern dwellings, is a sad commentary on the age of the destructor, when want of antiquarian respect, disregard for the antique, and want of veneration for the monuments of the past, even when they mark superior architectural skill of unusual solidity, besides being of intense historic interest, so generally obtained.

The first permanent German settlement in America was made in the fall of 1683. Francis Daniel Pastorius was the agent of the Frankfort Land Company, the original purchaser of the Germantown tract from William Penn. Pastorius had gathered together in Holland thirteen families selected from the German refugees who had been driven from their homes on the

Upper Rhine by the persecutors of the Mennonite and other Protestant sects opposed to war, and unwilling to furnish recruits to the armies engaged in the Thirty Years War. They laid waste their farms, and vineyards, drove off their live stock and depleted their graneries, scenes along the Upper Rhine so frequent during the progress of this War.

William Penn had offered to these seekers after religious freedom a refuge, with the prospect of freedom of worship, should they settle on his possessions in the New World and carry with them the thrift and agricultural skill that had made of the Upper Rhine the garden spot of Europe. In August, 1683, Pastorus, their leader, had preceded his company of adventurers and dug for himself a cave, awaiting their arrival. The Company reached Philadelphia October 6, 1683, and on October 24th of that year these German adventurers met in the cave of Pastorus to determine on the division of land they were to occupy and build homes for their respective families. The map prepared by Pastorus had designated the various lots by numbers. They were narrow on the Indian trail, which marked the main street of the new German town, but stretched back from the street for a long distance. To secure perfect good feeling between the neighbors the lot numbers were drawn, one by each head of a household, and the name of the holder written on the map on the lot so numbered. It will be well to call the roll and preserve the names of these original settlers: Abraham Op den Graeff, Herman Op den Graeff, Lenart Arets, Jan Semens, Willem Streypers, Jan Lensen, Dirck Op den Graeff, Thomas Kunders, Reynier Tyson, Jan Luckens, Johannes Bleekers, Peter Keurlis, Abraham Tunes. They had with them their families, and their homes before their migration to Holland had been Crefeldt on the Rhine. During the years following, other German families followed, attracted by the favorable accounts of the new settlers, possibly magnified by the Land Company, where every individual could carry out unmolested his own form of religious worship, the denial of which had been the strongest incentive to put the broad Atlantic between them and their fatherland. It is of one of these tardy settlers Heivert (Howard) Papen, from Mulheim in the Palatinate, who reached

the Germantown settlement in 1685 that we have to deal in this paper. Heivert Papen was a young man and had on his arrival no need for a house-lot, the first requisite to ownership being the possession of a wife. A few years after his arrival, Willam Ruttinghuyser (Rittenhouse) a Mennonite minister with his sons Gerhard and Klaus (Nicholas), and a daughter Elizabeth, came from Braich in Holland to Germantown. Heivert Papen married Elizabeth Rittenhouse soon after her arrival, and naturally he must have been absorbed in the welfare of the Mennonite church established in Germantown by his father-in-law, but as the records of that church covering the period between 1708 and 1770 are lost we know little of his life. He was with sixty-four others, naturalized in 1691 under Thomas Lloyd, the deputy governor of Pennsylvania and the same year he was one of the signers of the application for a charter for Germantown as a borough. When the charter was granted May 31, 1691, Francis Daniel Pastorius was chosen burgess and Heivert Papen a member of the council. The corporation was maintained with considerable difficulty owing to the reluctance of the Mennonites to hold office. Loper the historian says: "They would do nothing but work and pray and their mild consciences made them opposed to the swearing of oaths, and would not suffer them to use harsh weapons against trespassers, and Heivert Papen in 1701 declined to be burgess through such conscientious scruples."

He built a house in 1698, claimed to have been the first stone house in Philadelphia, and without a doubt the first stone house in Germantown. Appurtenant to Lot No. 8, on the original map was a side lot toward the Schuylkill. This lot and side lot were apportioned to Abraham Op der Graeff, and conveyed by him to Jacob Shumacker, March 4, 1685. In 1693 Shumacher conveyed both lots to Heivert Papen, and in 1698 he completed and moved into the stone house erected on the side lot. In 1705 Heivert Papen conveyed the side lot to Samuel Richardson, Richard Townsend, Thomas Lotts, and Samuel Cost, trustees of the Quaker Meeting, and the Papen House passed into the possession of the Society of Friends.

Heivert Papen's will is dated January 30, 1707-8, and was witnessed February 19, 1707-8. There appears to be no record

of the date of his death except that at the time, his youngest daughter Elizabeth was not of age. His wife and five daughters survived him and he had no son, hence the name of Papen died with him as far as descendants are concerned. He is remembered however through the descendants of four of his daughters. The eldest, Christina (Styntie) Papen, received by her father's will £75 over and above her equal share with her sisters, and she died unmarried about 1728. (II) Mary Papen, born about 1695, married Gerhard Brumbaugh, who was living in Philadelphia as late as 1721, but in 1724 paid taxes in Vincent township, Chester county, where he took up over 1,000 acres of land, a part of which he gave for Brownback's Church, and over 300 acres of which is still held by the family under the first deed signed by William Penn. Gerhard Brumbaugh (Brownback) and Mary Papen had issue: (1) Benjamin Brownback, married Elizabeth Paul; (2) Henry Brownback, married Mary Magdalen Paul; (3) Elizabeth Brownback, married Richard Custer; (4) Anna Brownback, married Paul Benner; (5) Catherine Brownback, married Jacob Maushower; and (6) Mary Brownback, married Frederick Bingamon. (III) Gertrude Papen, married Benjamin Howell of Germantown, July 19, 1721, and according to his recorded will he had no children. (IV) Margaret Papen, married Jacob Shimer (born 1676; died September, 1757) and left six children. Abraham, Anthony, Elizabeth Dickinson, Mary Shoemaker, Catherine Young, and Sarah Shimer. After the death of Margaret (Papen) Shimer her widowed husband married as his second wife, Elizabeth ———, and by her had seven sons. He moved in 1736 from Skippack to a plantation on the southern slope of South Mountain below Bethlehem. (V) Elizabeth Papen, married Jan Jensen on December 29, 1719, in the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. She died prior to 1728.

Are Republics Ungrateful?

THE following communication introduces letters of public interest, which taken in connection with the sad ending of the life of General Bailey less than a year after his letter to Senator Doolittle was written, is a severe commentary on the ingratitude of the majority of the United States Congress, in 1866, toward one of the Nation's most conspicuous defenders.

Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 14, 1912.

To the Editor of "Americana:"

I am sending you copies of 2 letters from the Judge Doolittle correspondence and my note attached. I think they have historical value enough to warrant their publication in your magazine.

Don't you?

Very truly yours,

Duane Mowry,
387-18th St.

Fort Scott, Kansas, May 4th, 1866.

Hon. Senator Doolittle,

U. S. Senate,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir—I wrote you a short time since in relation to a matter which is of importance to me and beg again to trouble you by enclosing a letter from Admiral Porter which you will please use if necessary, and if not used please return to me at this place. I will not trouble you by relating my history in the war, but simply mention that the reason that no more has been said of my services than has, was because of my advocating the very principals that the President has advocated in which I have been

pleased to see that you have so nobly stood by him during the past winter. With great respect,

I am your obt. Servt,
J. Bailey.

Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., April 21st, 1866.

Your Excellency,

I would most earnestly represent to you the case of the late Brig. Gen'l J. Bailey of the U. S. Vols. and ask that as a reward for his most eminent service on the Red River Expedition that he may receive some appointment which will enable him to live.

He is now suffering from wounds received in the war and also from disease contracted during that time and thus is prevented leading his former life of Civil Engineer.

It is unnecessary to enumerate his services or to allude to the Dam which he designed and constructed in Red River and which saved to the country a large and valuable fleet and probably the possession of the Mississippi River. Gen'l Bailey asks to be appointed Indian Agent, either of the Chicasaws, Choctaws or Cherokees. I know that he will do well and do most earnestly recommend him to your most favorable consideration. Gen'l Bailey has never received the praise he should for this great act of genius and I trust you will be able to reward him.

With the greatest respect

I remain, your Obed't Serv't,
David D. Porter,
Rear Adm'l and Supt.

His Excellency, President Andrew Johnson,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Note.—Endorsed on the back of the General Bailey letter in a handwriting not known to the writer are these words: "General Bailey, May 4th. Desires an appointment and encloses a recommendation from Admiral Porter."

These letters are interesting to Wisconsin soldiers and sailors, because General Bailey, "Red River Dam, Bailey" as he is well known to history, was a resident of Wisconsin, and enlisted

from this state in the civil war. His great public services are fittingly recognized in this strong letter by Admiral Porter. No history of Wisconsin's part in the civil war would be complete that did not take into account the valuable service of General Bailey.

Duane Mowry.

Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 14th, 1912.

General Joseph Bailey, U. S. V., the engineer whose skill and prompt action in the face of ridicule and in spite of the advice of army engineers of high rank, saved the fleet of Admiral Porter engaged in transporting the army of General Banks after the disastrous defeat at Sabine Cross Roads, La., April 8, 1864, was born in Salem, Ohio, April 28, 1827. At the time of his death March 21, 1867, he was sheriff of Newton County, Mo., and was murdered by two criminals arrested by him while he was conveying them to the court for trial. This was less than a year after he had written the above letter to Senator Doolittle, at the time a minority member of the committee on Indian affairs in the United States Senate. Apparently his friendship for the petitioner, his influence with the President and the letter of Admiral Porter were of no avail at a time when prejudice had its sway in the Senate and recommendations from friends of the administration of President Johnson, of any measure however meritorious was equivalent to defeat.

The fact that General Bailey accepted the local office of sheriff of Newton County, indicates his dire need of employment. This, it must be remembered, was at a time his incomparable services to his country were still fresh in the minds of the people, and just after he had received a perfunctory vote of thanks from the United States Congress, "*for his military, naval and engineering service as displayed in the Red River Campaign.*" Are republics ungrateful, or is it that their public servants are remiss in their obligations.

Governor Tilden and the Presidency in 1884

DUANE MOWRY, ESQ., sends us another letter from Judge Doolittle's Correspondence which is of historical interest, coming as it does from Mr. Tilden's confidential friend and adviser, and showing the reluctance of Governor Tilden in accepting the nomination for President in 1884.

New York, July 6, 1884.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle.

My Dear Sir:—Though Governor Tilden has never been sick in bed a day since I have known him, now more than forty years, nor ever so ill as not to attend to current affairs, he is not strong and has no expectation of being stronger. He does not feel that if elected to the Presidency he could realize the reasonable expectations of his friends or of the country. It was this apprehension which led him to decline the nomination in 1880, and there is no reason operating now, except the greater apparent unanimity of the party and the deduction of four years from the working balance of his life, that was not operative then.

I take no responsibility in saying, not only that the Governor does not wish the office but that he does wish not to assume the burdens which it would impose upon him.

From a conviction that the anxieties of a canvass and the labor incident to a regeneration of our administrative system would interfere with the regularity of life and the repose which are indispensable to his health and comfort, I approved entirely of his course in 1880, and I am very reluctantly constrained to approve of the course which he now seems determined to pursue.

I regret that from the very nature of the situation I cannot give a more explicit answer to your favor of the 2d inst., nor one more in harmony with what I suppose to be your feelings.

Yours very truly,

John Bigelow.



Great Salt Lake City in 1853

History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

THE FOUNDING OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE GREAT BASIN

THE founding of civil government in the Great Basin by the Latter-day Saints can only properly be understood by viewing the act in the light of the declared intentions and purposes of the church leaders; and accordingly these are here considered.

On the 7th of August, 1846, a council meeting was held at the tent of Geo. D. Grant in the "Camp of Israel" at which the Twelve, Bishop Whitney, *et al.*, were present and met with Col. Thomas L. Kane who wished to know the intentions of these church leaders respecting their relationship to the government of the United States. To which President Young made the following answer:

"I informed the Col. we intended settling in the Great Basin or Bear river valley, and those who went round by water would settle at San Francisco. We would be glad to raise the American flag; we love the constitution of our country, but are opposed to mobocracy; and will not live under such oppression as we have done. We are willing to have the banner of the United States constitution float over us.

"Col. Kane said Boggs had been working against us in Washington, and asked whether we should like a territorial government. I replied we should, and that many of our English emigrants would probably settle at Vancouver Island.

"The Col. said that Lord Aberdeen informed Mr. McLance that the British government designed to colonize Vancouver's Island. I said, we would be willing to carry the mail across the

continent, and build block houses wherever the United States might wish."¹

I have already published a letter of Parley P. Pratt's in *fac simile*,² dated at the "Camp of Israel," July 9th, 1846, in which, when urging haste in raising the Mormon Battalion, he said:

"Be assured it is the mind and will of God that we should improve the opportunity which a kind Providence has now opened for us to secure a permanent home in that country, [i. e. the Rocky Mountains] *and thus lay a foundation for a territorial or state government under the constitution of the United States*, where we shall be the first settlers and a vast majority of the people, and thus be independent of mobs and be able to maintain our rights and freedom, and to assist in the redemption of our country, and the emancipation of the world from bondage."

Again, in a letter to President James K. Polk, dated at "Omaha Nation, August 9th, 1846," and signed by Brigham Young, President; and Willard Richards, Clerk, in a series of six resolutions contained in that letter the *first*, *third* and *fifth* were as follows:

(1) "*Resolved*, That as children of the United States, we have not been disappointed in our anticipation of a brighter day and a more righteous administration in our endeavors for the canvass of his Excellency, James K. Polk, to the Presidency. . . .

(3) "*Resolved*, That should we locate within the territory of the United States, as we anticipate, we would esteem a *territorial government of our own*, as one of the richest boons of earth, and while we appreciate the Constitution of the United States as the most precious among the nations, we feel that we had rather retreat to the deserts, island or mountain caves than consent to be ruled by governors and judges whose hands are drenched in the blood of innocence and virtue, who delight in injustice and oppression." . . .

(5) "*Resolved*, That as soon as we are settled in the Great

1. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.* Bk. 2, p. 133. Later, namely, on the 31st of August of the same year, discussing the same subject, and the action of some of the "great ones at Washington," President Young, referring to the government, said "that if they (i. e. the government) would treat us as they ought, we would fight for them, and do them good; but we never would consent to be governed again by unjust judges or governors, let the consequences be what they might." (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 219-220 Entry for Aug. 31st, 1846).

2. See ch. LXIII, *Americana* for March, 1912.

Basin we design to petition the United States for a territorial government, bounded on the north by the British, and south by the Mexican dominions, and east and west by the summits of the Rocky and Cascade mountains.”³

Again, in November, 1846, Elder John Taylor in a letter to the church in England, explaining the prospects for the Saints in America obtaining lands in the “Great Basin,” to which they were removing, it will be seen that the probability of that land falling under the control of the United States was complacently anticipated, and the advantages to the Saints considered as great as if it remained under the control of Mexico:

“When we arrive in California, according to the provisions of the Mexican government, each family will be entitl’d to a large tract of land, amounting to several hundred acres; but as the Mexican and American nations are now at war, should California fall into the hands of the American nation, there has been a bill before congress, in relation to Oregon, which will undoubtedly pass, appropriating six hundred and forty acres of land to every male settler; should California fall into the hands of the American nation, this privilege will unquestionably extend to that land, for the encouragement of emigration; so that whether it is in the hands of the Americans or Mexicans, still we shall obtain a vast territory of country for nothing, and become the legal proprietors of the soil without any outlay of money or other property—our presence alone gives it value.”⁴

As early as the 20th of January, 1846, the high council at

3. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms. Bk. 2*, pp. 136-140. Inasmuch as the valuable historical letter from which the above excerpts are taken has never been published *in extenso*, I deem it both a duty and a pleasure to give it a place in *note I*, end of this chapter. I find reference made to it in a personal letter by Col. Thomas L. Kane to President Millard Fillmore, in which he quotes the assertions in it respecting the “government” and “the United States’ Constitution”—the former as “the best government on earth;” and the latter, as the “most precious among the nations”—in evidence of the loyalty of President Young, and the Mormon people. Col. Kane had the letter with him at the time, July 11th, 1851. He regretted that he had never been authorized to make use of it, but he sent a copy of it to President Fillmore, at the same time saying: “I regret that I have never been authorized to make use of the paper, a copy of which I enclose you, itself a copy of a letter to President Polk, written at a time of the severest trial. Its author, I believe, was the talented gentleman whose name was offered to you for the post of secretary of the Territory, [Dr. Richards]; but it was signed by Brigham Young, and I know expresses the genuine feelings of his heart. I want you to remark, sir, that this, their first communication with our Government after their expulsion from their homes in Illinois, dates of August 9, 1846.” (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, p. 344).

4. *Mill Star*, Vol. VIII, p. 115.

Nauvoo in a document which, according to the document itself, was unanimously agreed to by all the authorities of the church at Nauvoo, stated:

“We also further declare, for the satisfaction of some who have concluded that our grievances have alienated us from our country, that our patriotism has not been overcome by fire—by sword—by daylight, nor by midnight assassinations, which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country. Should hostilities arise between the government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the claims of the United States government to that country. It is geographically ours; and of right, no foreign power should hold dominion there; and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability.”⁵

Such were the declared purposes of the leading authorities of the church respecting their relations with the United States. They are presented here at such length and from original documents, because the motives and intentions of the Saints with reference to their removal to the west have been so grossly misrepresented that I deem it necessary that their purposes should be stated clearly, and placed upon such authority, as to be henceforth incontestible. We shall also see in the sequence that their actions were in strict harmony with these early declared intentions. Before confirming that statement by proof, however, let the misrepresentation of their purposes be considered.

William A. Linn, in his “Story of the Mormons,” says:

“We have seen that Joseph Smith’s desire was, when he suggested a possible removal of the church to the Far West, that they should have, not only an undisturbed place of residence, but a government of their own. This idea of political independence Young never lost sight of. Had Utah remained a distant province of the Mexican government, the Mormons might have been allowed to dwell there a long time, practically without governmental control. But when that region passed under the government of the United States by the proclamation of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, on July 4, 1848, Brigham Young

5. *Times and Season*, Vol. V, p. 1096.

had to face a new situation. He then decided that what he wanted was an independent state government, not territorial rule under the federal authorities, and he planned accordingly.”⁶

The unfairness of this representation of the desires of Joseph Smith and his people for “a government of their own,” arises, first, from the interpretation given to the phrase that such government is to be separate from the government of the United States; and, second, that a state government was only contemplated or desired after the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed, and the Great Basin became United States territory. The latter notion is clearly contrary to the evidence in the case, as may be verified by reference to the quotations from original documents already given in preceding paragraphs of this chapter, where the hope is expressed that they could obtain in the Great Basin either a state or a territorial government “under the constitution of the United States,” even before their Pioneers had left the Missouri for the Mountains. And as to the first part of the misrepresentation, that “a government of their own” meant a government separate from that of the United States, that is contradicted from the quotations from the same documents in this chapter, where entire willingness is expressed to have such civil government as they contemplated in connection with and under the Constitution of the United States, which they esteemed as “the most precious among the nations.”⁷

Even Lieutenant Gunnison in his “*History of the Mormons*,” by mistake, puts the declaration of “their adherence to the great charter of liberty,” the Constitution, to a time after their “adopted land had come under the jurisdiction of the Stars and Stripes.”⁸

6. Linn's “*Story of the Mormons*,” p. 468.

7. See excerpts from President Young's Letter to President Polk; and the whole letter in *Note 1* end of chapter. As it was in respect of civil government, so also was it in relation to lands. “The Mormons having been driven from what was then the United States,” says Bancroft, “it was but natural, as indeed it seemed to be necessity, that they should take possession of such unoccupied lands in the region toward the Pacific as best suited them. But it was not necessary that they should hold possession of such lands in opposition to the government of the United States, as they *have been charged with doing*.” (Bancroft's *Hist. of Utah*, pp. 239-40).

8. I charge this to a mistake so far as Lieutenant Gunnison is concerned, because throughout his valuable book, notwithstanding some misconceptions, I am sure his effort was to be entirely fair to the Mormon people, and it is a pleasure to make this acknowledgment. Following is the passage in full referred to in the

On the 22nd of February, 1850, when the question of providing government for the country occupied by the Latter-day Saints was being considered in the national house of representatives, John Wentworth, a representative from Illinois, presented a petition from citizens of Lee county, in his state, asking congress to protect the rights of American citizens passing through the Salt Lake valley, and charging, on the Mormon leaders, among other things, "a desire for a kingly government."⁹

On the last day of December, 1849, Joseph R. Underwood, of Kentucky, presented in the house of representatives a memorial from William Smith, and Isaac Sheen, the former the brother of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and twelve others, making the charge that fifteen hundred of the "Mormons" before leaving Illinois, had taken a treasonable oath to avenge the blood of Joseph Smith upon the nation of the United States; that they would so teach their children; and would forthwith begin to carry out hostilities against the nation, but "keep the same a profound secret now and forever."¹⁰ Just how the hostility was

text. "Though this people fled to a foreign country to enjoy the liberty that persecution denied them in the states, *as soon as they found their adopted land had come under the jurisdiction of the stripes and stars*—which their own valor had helped to win in the army of the Pacific against Mexico,—*they embraced the earliest opportunity of declaring their adherence to the great charter of liberty and national glory*, and announced to the world that it was given to our patriot fathers by divine inspiration, and that they will uphold and defend it, though all the original parties shall secede and trample it under foot.

"They will make no law forbidden by the sacred constitution of the United States, and predict that the day is not far distant when they shall be solicited by patriotic American citizens, to descend from their rocky fastnesses, to enforce its sanctions upon those led astray by frantic, political delusion and anarchy." ("The History of the Mormons," pp. 83, 84). Stenhouse referring to the passing over of the Salt Lake country from Mexico to the United States, says: "This was unforeseen and undesirable to the Mormon leaders, for they could have dictated terms to Mexico and have worked out better the theocratic problem with the relics of the Montezumas, than with the Anglo-Saxon descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers." This cannot be credited to mistake, because Mr. Stenhouse by his association with the leaders of the church during the years of his membership therein; and with his knowledge of Mormon history and literature must have known better. On the part of Mr. Stenhouse the above statement can be nothing but deliberate misrepresentation.

9. Linn's "Story of the Mormons," p. 431. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXI, p. 413. A falsehood once launched into the literature of a subject, how hard it is to destroy it! As late as August 16th, 1909, the Salt Lake *Tribune*, editorially discussing the intentions of the "Chiefs of the Church," at the time of the exodus from Nauvoo, said: "It is well known to be a fact that the idea of the chiefs of the church at the time was to get out from under the flag and establish in the west a kingdom of their own, in which they should reign in independence of the general government."

10. Congressional Globe, 1849-50, Vol. XXI, p. 92. Also quoted by Linn, "Story of the Mormons," p. 430.

to "begin forthwith," and at the same time be kept a profound secret, does not appear. This is not the place for a defense of the Saints against this particular charge of Smith, Sheen, *et al.*, it is mentioned here only as a passing reference to the charges of disloyalty made against the Saints in those early years of Utah's history, 1849-1850. It will be enough to say now, and the evidence is before the reader in the first few paragraphs of this chapter, that no fact of history is more clearly established than the fact of the expectation and desire on the part of the Latter-day Saints to form a civil government in the midst of the Rocky Mountains under the sanctions of the Constitution of the United States; and that both the desire and expectation existed and was expressed before they arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, and therefore before that section of Mexico passed under the jurisdiction of the United States.

If the Latter-day Saints did not aspire to establish civil government in the Salt Lake valley in opposition to, or independent of, the government of the United States; the fact that they did not was not owing to any lack of encouragement for them to do so. First there was Senator Stephen A. Douglas who, in April, 1844, on the occasion of Orson Hyde being in Washington to urge congress to pass an ordinance authorizing Joseph Smith to police the Intermountain and Pacific coast west with a volunteer force of 100,000 men, gave the Prophet's representative every encouragement to seize upon the then existing opportunities to settle the Mormon people in Oregon. "Judge Douglas says," reports Elder Hyde, "he would equally as soon go to that country without an act of congress as with; 'and that in five years a noble state might be formed; and then if they would not receive us into the Union, we would have a government of our own.' He is decidedly of the opinion that congress will pass no act in favor of any particular man going there; but he says if any man will go and desires that privilege, and has confidence in his own ability to perform it, he already has the right, and the sooner he is off the better for his scheme."¹¹

11. Letter of Orson Hyde from Washington to Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, bearing date of April 26th, 1844. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. V, p. 374.

Under date of April 8th, 1845, Governor Ford of Illinois, urged upon the church authorities an invasion of Mexico and the establishment of an independent state which Mexico would be too feeble to overthrow. I copy the portion of the governor's letter relating to the proposed western movement of the church, the last paragraph of which, with Governor Ford's signature, being reproduced in *fac simile* in this chapter from a photograph of the original now in the Church Historian's office at Salt Lake City:

Excerpt of Ford's Letter.

"I was informed by Gen. Joseph Smith last summer that he contemplated a removal west and from what I learned from him and others at that time, I think, if he had lived he would have begun to move in the matter before this time. I would be willing to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to further your views, in this respect, if it was the wish of your people.

"I would suggest a matter in confidence. California now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise that has been undertaken in modern times. It is but sparsely inhabited and by none but the Indian or imbecile Mexican Spaniard. I have not inquired enough to know how strong it is in men and means. But this we know that if conquered from Mexico, that country is so physically weak and morally distracted that she could never send a force to reconquer it. Why would it not be a pretty operation for your people to go out there and take possession of and conquer a portion of the vacant country and establish an independent government of your own, subject only to the laws of nations. You would remain then a long time before you would be disturbed by the proximity of other settlements. If you conclude to do this your design ought not to be known or otherwise it would become the duty of the United States to prevent your emigration. But if you once cross the line of the United States territories, you would be in no danger of being interfered with.

"I am respectfully your obedient servant,

"THOMAS FORD."

This suggestion, of course, was never acted upon by the church leaders. On the contrary, as we have already seen, they raised the Stars and Stripes in the Salt Lake valley while it was yet Mexican territory, at least ten months before the authority

of the United States was extended over it.¹² And what is more, the congress of the United States having not only failed, but actually refused to provide any kind of civil government for the territory—at least for that portion of it east of the Sierras¹³—ceded to the United States by Mexico, the colonists in the Great Basin themselves took steps to institute civil government; and on the first day of February, 1849, issued the following, signed by many citizens:

Call for a Convention to Form Civil Government in the Great Basin.

“Notice is hereby given to all the citizens of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, that a convention will be held at the Great Salt Lake in said territory, on Monday, the fifth day of March next, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a Territorial or State Government.

“Dated at the Great Salt Lake City, Great Basin, North America, this first day of February, 1849.”¹⁴

In accordance with this call a “considerable number of the inhabitants of that portion of Upper California, lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, met in convention in Great Salt Lake

12. Ante chapter LXXIII this History, note. The treaty which ceded the Mexican territory in the Great Basin to the United States was signed 2nd February, 1848. “This treaty was finally agreed to by both governments, and on the 4th of July following, President Polk proclaimed it.” *Losing's Hist. of U. S.*, p. 496. Edition of 1872. The U. S. flag was raised in Salt Lake Valley at least as early as October, 1847. See this History, chapter LXXIII.

13. This fact was well stated in the debates in House of Representatives by Mr. Brown of Mississippi, who said: “How, sir, in what manner have we governed these territories (New Mexico and Deseret)? We have steadily refused them all governments. The *aegis* of our protection has not been extended over them. We have sent them neither governors, secretaries, judges, or tax-gathers. We have taken no cognizance of them, or of their condition. This state of things ought not so long to have existed. It was the solemn duty of congress to have taken these people under its care—to have extended over them the shield of the Constitution—to have given them laws and government. It was a reproach to congress that all this had been neglected or refused.” (*Congressional Globe*, Vol. 22, p. 1415). See also note 2 end of chapter.

14. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, entry 1st Feb., 1849, p. 3. “Monday, fifth day of March” in the text of the note is an error, should be the “fourth”; for Monday was the fourth of March that year, and that was the day the convention met.

City, on Monday the 4th¹⁵ and appointed Albert Carrington, Joseph L. Heywood, William W. Phelps, David Fulmer, John S. Fulmer, Charles C. Rich, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, John M. Bernhisel and Erastus Snow a committee to draft and report to the convention a constitution, under which the inhabitants of said territory might organize and govern themselves, *until the congress of the United States should otherwise provide by law.*'^{15½}

The italics in the foregoing quotation are mine, and I employ them because of the efforts of Anti-Mormon writers to distort this effort to establish a civil government in the Great Basin as something reprehensible, un-American in fact.¹⁶ The last clause of the closing sentence, duly noted, certainly corrects such a false impression and proves that the proposed state was merely a provisional government, awaiting either the confirmation of the national congress to give permanent effect to its proceedings, or otherwise to provide for civil government in the territory concerned; in either event clearly recognizing the sovereignty of the national congress in the premises.

The convention assembled again on the 8th, 9th and 10th of March, when the committee appointed to draft a constitution, through its chairman, Albert Carrington, reported; and after such consideration as could be given the subject in the three days through which the convention met, a constitution was finally adopted. The preamble was as follows:

“Whereas, A large number of citizens of the United States, before and since the treaty of peace with the Republic of Mexico, emigrated to and settled in that portion of the territory of the

15. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 26. The date on which the committee was appointed is given in the published reports of the ordinances passed by the “State of Deseret,” as the 15th of March, and the date of their report as the 18th of March (See “Acts Resolutions and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, 1855,” which authorized the publication of the constitution and the ordinances passed by the State of Deseret, pp. 44-109). All other original sources of information, however, are in harmony with the date of the text, while the date of the published report though authorized by the Territorial legislature, stands alone.

15½. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 26.

16. “Referring to the preamble of the constitution, which was finally adopted, one anti-Mormon writer declares that the purpose was to establish a “free and independent government,” that it was the intention for it to remain such “until the new state thus constituted should be admitted into the union. In other words, they (i. e. the Mormons) intended through the machinery of this independent

United States, lying west of the Rocky Mountains, and in the great interior basin of Upper California; and

Whereas, By reason of said treaty, all civil organization originating from the republic of Mexico became abrogated; and

Whereas, The congress of the United States has failed to provide a form of civil government for the territory so acquired, or any portion thereof; and

Whereas, Civil government and laws are necessary for the security, peace, and prosperity of society; and

Whereas, It is a fundamental principle in all republican governments that all political power is inherent in the people; and governments instituted for their protection, security, and benefit, should emanate from the same—

Therefore, Your committee beg leave to recommend the adoption of the following constitution, until the congress of the United States shall otherwise provide for the government of the territory hereinafter named and described.

We, the people, grateful to the Supreme Being for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, and feeling our dependence on Him for a continuation of those blessings, do ordain and establish a free and independent government, by the name of the State of Deseret; including all the territory of the United States within the following boundaries, to wit: commencing at the 33rd degree of north latitude, where it crosses the 108th degree of longitude, west of Greenwich; thence running south and west to the northern boundary of Mexico; thence west to and down the main channel of the Gila river, on the northern line of Mexico, and on the northern boundary of Lower California to the Pacific Ocean; thence along the coast northwesterly to 118 degrees, 30 minutes of west longitude; thence north to where said line intersects the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada Mountains; thence north along the summit of the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the dividing range of mountains that separates the waters flowing into the Columbia river, from the waters running into the Great Basin; thence easterly along the dividing range of mountains that separates said waters flowing into the Columbia river on the north, from the waters flowing into the Great Basin on the south, to the summit of the Wind River chain of mountains; thence southeast and south, by the dividing range of mountains that separate the waters flowing into the Gulf of

state to harass and annoy the government and the Gentiles until the 'saints' could force themselves into the union upon their own terms The formation of this government for the state of Deseret was the first effort to throw off the yoke of the federal government—an effort which has been persistently persevered in to the present time (i. e. 1866) ("The Mormon Prophet, or An Authentic History of Brigham Young"—Waite, p. 13).

Mexico, from the waters flowing into the Gulf of California; to the place of beginning, as set forth in a map drawn by Charles Preuss, and published by order of the Senate of the United States in 1848.”¹⁷

The constitution in a general way followed the lines of the older state constitutions; creating administrative, legislative, and judicial departments and describing and therefore prescribing the limits of each sphere of the government. The electorate of the state to vote upon the constitution and at the first election was to consist of all white male residents of the state over the age of twenty-one years, exclusive of persons in the military, naval, or marine service of the United States.

The state officers were to be elected for a term of four years. The judicial power was to be vested in a supreme court, and such inferior courts as the general assembly “shall from time to time establish;” but the supreme court by constitutional provision was to consist of a chief justice and two associate justices elected by conjoint vote of both houses of the general assembly, their term of office to be for four years, and until their successors were elected and qualified.

The Constitution included a declaration of rights in which it was said that in republican governments all men should be born equally free and independent, and possess the right to enjoy and defend their rights of life and liberty; acquiring, possessing and defending property; seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness. All political power was declared to be inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded in their authority and instituted for their benefit; “therefore they have an inalienable and indefeasible right to institute government, and to alter, reform, and totally change the same when their safety, happiness, and the public good shall require it.”¹⁸

A State militia was provided for, to consist of “all able bodied,

17. Mill. Star, Vol. XII, p. 19. The constitution is there published *in extenso*, copied from the New York Herald. It will be observed that the boundaries proposed for the new state included an immense area of country. It gave the proposed state a bit of sea coast; the whole of the Great Basin; the Green, the Colorado, and the Gila river Basins; and was truly an empire in extent. The great area to be included in the proposed state was one of the serious objections against the proposition to admit the state of Deseret into the Union.

18. Article VIII, Const. State of Deseret, sec. 2.

white, male citizens, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, except such as are or maybe hereafter exempt by the laws of the United States, or this state; and shall be armed, equipped and trained as the general assembly may provide by law.”

Religious freedom within the state was emphatically affirmed in the following provision:

“Section 3: All men shall have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience; and the general assembly shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or disturb any person in his religious worship or sentiments; provided he does not disturb the public peace, nor obstruct others in their religious worship; and all persons demeaning themselves peaceably, as good members of the state shall be equally under the protection of the laws; and no subordination or preference of any one sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law; nor shall any religious test be ever required for any office of trust under this state.”¹⁹

The first election was appointed for the first Monday in May, 1849, at the usual places of holding public meetings in the different districts and settlements; “at which time and place the qualified voters shall vote for or against the adoption of this constitution; and if a majority of all the legal votes shall be in favor of its adoption, the same shall take effect from and after said election.” „ „

Salt Lake City was declared to be the seat of government, until otherwise provided by law.

While the constitution designated the first Monday in May as the time for the first election, both for the adoption of the Constitution and the election of state officers, the first election was really held on the 12th of March at the “Bowery”—the place of holding religious services—with the following result: The Constitution was adopted and state officers chosen:

For Governor, Brigham Young.

Secretary, Willard Richards.

Chief Justice, Heber C. Kimball.

19. Ibid, sec. 3.

Associate Justices, Newel K. Whitney and John Taylor.²⁰

Marshal, Horace S. Eldredge.

Attorney General, Daniel H. Wells.

Assessor and Collector, Albert Carrington.

Treasurer, Newel K. Whitney.

Supervisor of Roads, Joseph L. Heywood.

The bishops of the nineteen wards that Salt Lake City was now divided into, together with the bishops of Weber River precinct; North Cottonwood precinct; North Mill Canon; South [Little] Cottonwood, Big Cottonwood, and Mill Creek, were elected magistrates to serve in a civil capacity.²¹ The number of votes cast for the candidates is given as 674;²² and as things were being done practically by unanimous consent, it is supposed that the votes for the constitution and for all the state officers, were practically the same.

The constitutional convention which convened on the 4th of March, 1849, before adjournment, memorialized the national congress in behalf of their constituents and the approval of the constitution they were about to submit for consideration.²³

The memorial called attention to the fact that congress had failed to provide, by law, a form of civil government for any part

20. The election of the chief and the associate justices indicates another irregularity, since the constitution provided for the election of these judges by the conjoint vote of the two houses of the general assembly. The first irregularity consisted in changing of the time of holding the election from the first Monday in May to the 12th of March.

21. If the election of the bishops of the respective wards, referred to in the text, was intended to be the election of the "inferior judges" contemplated by the state constitution, then their election marks another irregularity of procedure, as the constitution declared that the election of the judiciary, except members of the supreme court, should be provided for by the legislature. But evidently there was such unanimity of feeling and action that the people were doing things on the basis of "unanimous consent." Making these bishops civil magistrates was evidently only a temporary arrangement; as also the first election of the supreme court judges, since a few months later, after the new government had been more completely inaugurated, Messrs. Daniel H. Wells, Daniel Spencer, and Orson Spencer were nominated as judges of the supreme court; Andrew Perkins for county judge; with Messrs. William Crosby and James Hendrix associate judges; Messrs. Aaron Farr and Willard Snow magistrates. (Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 5, January 1850, p. 3).

22. Hist. of Brigham Young, Ms., Bk. 4, p. 38, 39. Entry for the 12th of March, 1849.

23. For date of Memorial see *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 23. It was afterwards adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, July of the same year, and forwarded to congress by the hand of the representative of the provisional state government, Almon W. Babbitt.

of the territory ceded to the United States by the republic of Mexico; that "strong fears have been, and still are entertained from the failure of congress to provide legal, civil authorities, that political aspirants may subject the government of the United States to the sacrifice of much blood and treasure in extending jurisdiction over that valuable country;" that in view of their own security, *and for the preservation of the constitutional right of the United States to hold jurisdiction there*, the inhabitants of the "State of Deseret" had organized a provisional State government under which the civil policy of the nation is duly maintained; that there were a sufficient number of individuals residing within the "State of Deseret" to support a state government, thereby relieving the general government from the expense of a territorial government in the region marked off by the boundaries of the proposed state.

"Your memorialists therefore ask your honorable body," concluded this supplementary document to the constitution, "to favorably consider their interests; and, if consistent with the constitution and usages of the federal government, that the constitution accompanying this memorial be ratified, and that the State of Deseret be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with other states, *or such other form of civil government as your wisdom and magnanimity may award to the people of Deseret*. And, upon the adoption of any form of government here, that their delegates be received, and their interests properly and faithfully represented, in the congress of the United States. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray."²⁴

As if mistrustful of their application for a sovereign state government and admission into the Union being favorably received, a petition was circulated in April, of the same year, asking for a territorial form of government. Brigham Young records the fact that he signed this second memorial on the 30th of that month, and that it bore the signatures of 2,270 others.²⁵ The boundaries of the territory to be included within the jurisdiction of the civil government to be created, followed practically

24. Mill. Star, Vol. XII, p. 24. *Italics are mine.*

25. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 4, pp. 70-71 entry for April 30, 1849.

those of the "State of Deseret," though here and there extended to more definite lines.²⁶

The justification for petitioning for so large an area of country is disclosed in this second memorial as being, to use their own words,—“we have done more by our arms and influence than any other equal number of citizens to obtain and secure this country to the government of the United States: Therefore,” they continue, “we respectfully petition your honorable body to charter for your memorialists a territorial government of the most liberal construction authorized by our excellent federal Constitution, with the least possible delay, to be known by the name of ‘Deseret.’ ”

Dr. John M. Bernhisel was given the mission of taking this second memorial to Washington, there to make application for a territorial government; at the same time being instructed to call upon Col. Thomas L. Kane and confer with him in the matter. A rather free hand was given to Col. Kane in relation to the boundaries of the proposed territory; as he was authorized to extend, if consistent, the proposed northern boundary line to latitude 43 degrees north; to modify the eastern line, and the line extending to the Pacific coast as he might find it expedient or necessary.²⁷ Dr. Bernhisel was also given a letter of introduction to Senator Stephen A. Douglas, whose aid the Salt Lake colonists solicited, in the name of past friendship for the Saints, and associations with the church leaders.²⁸ Dr. Bernhisel left on his mission for Washington on the 4th of May, 1849.

Surely in all this procedure to establish civil government the Salt Lake colonists were deferential enough to the general government. Their constitution for the provisional state and their memorial accompanying the same breathe no spirit of defiance; give no evidence of a wish for political separation from the United States. Neither does their petition for a territorial form of government. On the contrary these documents represent the people in the Salt Lake valley as taking the initiative in the

26. This more especially on the east and the north; The boundaries were to include all lands "lying between Oregon and Mexico, and between the Sierra Nevada and the 27th degree of West longitude" (i. e. from Washington) (History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 72).

27. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 73.

28. Ibid, pp. 73, 74.

matter of establishing civil government only because the general government had failed to provide by law for civil government in any part of that extensive territory ceded to the United States by Mexico;²⁹ that feeling secure in their ability to care for themselves, they instituted this provisional state government for the preservation of the constitutional rights of the United States to hold jurisdiction within its boundaries, and maintain the civil policy of the nation; that if this form of government they presented for a sovereign state in the Union was not consistent with the usages of the federal government, then a willingness is expressed to accept "such other form of civil government," as "the wisdom and magnanimity" of congress "may award to the people of Deseret;" only praying that upon the adoption of any form of government for the country they occupied, their "delegates be received and their interests properly and faithfully represented in the congress of the United States."

If the procedure in all this matter is open to criticism at any point, it would have to be an indictment against the colonists for too great complaisance towards the general government in expressing willingness to accept, practically, any form of government which the "wisdom or magnanimity" of the congress might "award to the people of Deseret."³⁰ The right of the people to local self-government is a more stalwart right than it is here represented to be by the several actions of the Salt Lake colonists. And while they may have been extravagant in the matter of the extensive boundaries they prescribed both for the state and territory they petitioned for, in the matter of asserting the right of self-government for their community, the colonists were over moderate.

So, too, evidently, thought their friend and political advisor, Col. Thomas L. Kane, who, when the agent of the colonists, Dr. John M. Bernhisel,³¹ accompanied by Wilford Woodruff, called upon him in Philadelphia, strongly advised against presenting the petition for a territorial form of government, on the ground

29. See note 2, end of chapter.

30. It is time to define the word "Deseret." It comes from the Book of Mormon, and means "honey bee;" "and they did carry with them *Deseret*, which by interpretation is honey bee;"—speaking of the migration of the people of Jared from Asia to America, see Bk. of Ether, ch. 2, verse 3. Hence the "Bee Hive State:" the Bee Hive is the emblem of industry, and frugality.

that they would be better off without any government than with a territorial government, unless they could at least obtain assurances that the officers would be appointed from residents of the territory. Following are Col. Kane's remarks on this head as reported by Elder Wilford Woodruff:

"You are better off without any government from the hands of congress than with a territorial government. The political intrigues of government officers will be against you. You can govern yourselves better than they can govern you. I would prefer to see you withdraw the bill, rather than to have a territorial government, for if you are defeated in the state government, you can fall back upon it again at another session, if you have not a territorial government; but if you have, you cannot apply for a state government for a number of years. I insist upon it, you do not want corrupt political men from Washington strutting around you, with military epaulettes and dress, who will speculate out of you all they can. They will also control the Indian Agency, and Land Agency, and will conflict with your calculations in a great measure. You do not want two governments. You have a government now [alluding to the provisional state government of Deseret then in existence] which is firm and powerful, and you are under no obligations to the United States." . . . If you have a state government, men may come along and say, 'I am judge, I am colonel, I am governor,' you can whistle and ask no odds of them. But while you have a territorial government you cannot do it. And then there are always so many intrigues to make political parties among you, the first thing you know, a strong political party is rising up in your midst, selfish, and against your interest."³¹

That the violation of these principles and rights of "home rule"—"local self government," discussed above by Col. Kane,

31. The above was reported by Elder Woodruff and is recorded in the *Hist. of Brigham Young Ms.*, Bk. 4, pp. 161-164. See also *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, *Ms.* entry for 26th of Nov., 1849. It appears from this interview, reported by Woodruff, that Col. Kane had presented even an earlier petition for territorial government for the Salt Lake colonists; and that this petition was tentatively presented in the closing months of President Polk's administration; and then withdrawn because Col. Kane could not be sure that territorial officers from among the colonists would be appointed, but men from the east who would not be in sympathy with them; from which circumstance he foresaw great difficulties would arise—and they did afterwards arise—and hence he withdrew the petition he had presented. The incident is so important, and as it is one that has escaped our historians, I give the passage from Col. Kane's remarks, as reported by Wilford Woodruff, at the close of this chapter. See *Note 3*.

and dear to Anglo-Saxon people everywhere, but doubly dear to Americans, among whom their necessity and their value had been demonstrated in the colonial days of the United States—that the violation of these principles and rights, I say, were responsible for much, very much, of the difficulty which subsequently arose between the people of Utah and the government of the United States, will be noted in the proper place.

It is not of record that John M. Bernhisel took any steps to present to congress the petition for a territorial government, naturally the advice of Col. Kane would deter him from taking such a step; but he became earnestly active in presenting the cause of the State of Deseret to the members of both the house and the senate of the national congress.³¹

Meantime the provisional state government went into effect. On the 2nd of July, 1849, the general assembly met and on the 3rd the speaker of the house, Williard Snow, administered the oath of office to the state officers. On the 5th in conjoint session, Almon W. Babbitt was “elected delegate and representative to congress.” The house of the Deseret general assembly on the 6th, and the senate on the 9th, “adopted” the memorial to congress, passed by the constitutional convention on the 9th of March previous, praying for the admission of the “State of Deseret, into the Union on an equal footing with the other states;” or “such other form of civil government as congress in its wisdom and magnanimity” might “award to the people of Deseret.” Two thousand copies of the Constitution and Memorial were ordered printed. Later certified copies of the constitution and memorial together with a synopsis of the proceedings of the general assembly were signed by the Secretary of State, Willard Richards, and placed in the hands of the delegate-representative, Almon W. Babbitt, to be presented to congress.³²

Enroute to the east Babbitt went *via* of Kanessville, where on the 9th of September a public celebration was given in which the Saints in the Missouri River settlements participated in a

31. The services of Doctor Bernhisel are worthy of special mention, and his own report of them as they are recorded in the *Ms. History of Brigham Young* will be found in Note 4 at the end of the chapter.

32. *History of Brigham Young Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 104.

day of rejoicing in anticipation of the admission of the "State of Deseret" into the Union. A long procession marched through the streets of Kaneshville headed by special officers of the day, and Pitt's martial band. Various banners were displayed along the line, prominent among which was one designed and painted for the occasion. The stars and stripes, constituted the background, but with a rising star represented in the centre, also a Bee Hive, the emblem of the proposed state, and in the white stripes of the flag were the words:

"The Constitution of the United States: May it Live Forever;"

"Liberty and Truth Will Prevail."

"There was music, songs and speeches; a welcome to Mr. Babbitt as the representative to congress from the new state; a response by him, which was the principal speech of the occasion. A public dinner was served at which all partook of earth's bounties; many toasts were given and responded to; one of which was as follows:

"May the new star Deseret be as the Star of Bethlehem, a Guide to the Nations."

The whole celebration ended with a dancing party in the evening.³³

Of course the reason for the rejoicing by the people in the Missouri settlements over the prospect of a state government in the Great Basin, grew out of their intention to migrate to the new state, and their community sympathy with the Saints in the Salt Lake valley.

33. The Day's proceedings are given at length in the *Frontier Guardian* of Sept. 19, 1849. As an item of interest it may be added that in a letter from the First Presidency to Orson Hyde they speak of having heard of Oliver Cowdery's return to the Church, and that his feelings were right; and they express the wish that he might accompany Mr. Babbitt to Washington, and direct Elder Hyde to render brother Cowdery assistance to that end. But doubtless for the reason that Cowdery was absent in Missouri, he did not join Babbitt in this mission. (See *History of Brigham Young Ms.*, 1850, p. 105). The letter to Hyde bears date of July 20th, 1849. The Presidency also wrote direct to Oliver Cowdery congratulating him on his return to the Church, admonishing him to righteousness and informing him of their desire that he should accompany Mr. Babbitt to Washington and endeavor "to obtain the admission of the state of Deseret into the union." (*Ibid.* pp. 106-7).

Delegate Babbitt arrived in Washington in due time, but congress appeared to be in no mood to admit "Deseret" into the Union of states. Senator Douglas, notwithstanding Col. Kane's disparaging remark as to his real friendship for the Salt Lake colonists, introduced the memorial of the general assembly of the provisional state, also the constitution, into the senate, describing it as an application for admission as a state, "with the alternative of admission as a territory, if congress should so direct;" and moved that the memorial and the constitution be printed and referred to the Committee on Territories. This on the 27th of December, 1849.³⁴ The same documents were introduced into the house by Mr. Linn Boyd of Kentucky, together with the credentials of the delegate, Mr. Babbitt, which were referred to the house committee on Territories, but not until the 28th of January, 1850.³⁵

The question of admitting Almon W. Babbitt as a delegate from the State of Deseret, was referred to the house committee on elections, which after some time unanimously reported to the house the following resolution:

"That it is inexpedient to admit Almon W. Babbitt, Esq., to a seat in this body as a delegate from the alleged State of Deseret."

The resolution after long debates was finally adopted by a vote of 104 to 78.³⁶

The reasons which prevailed against the admission of the delegate seemed to be (1) that the memorial he presented from the legislature of the provisional state, did not ask for representation in congress until that body had awarded the people of Deseret some form of government;³⁷ (2) that Mr. Babbitt came as the

34. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXI, p. 86.

35. *Ibid*, p. 229. On the 23rd of Jan., Mr. Boyd had previously asked unanimous consent to introduce the memorial, the constitution and the credentials of the delegate (*Ibid*, p. 213), but objections being made, the matter went over to the 28th.

36. The matter was decided on the 20th of July, 1850. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXII, p. 1423.

37. When, therefore, Mr. Babbitt came here [i. e. to Congress] and asked the House to admit him to a seat on this floor, he asked that which his legislative constituency who sent him have not asked. On the contrary, they asked that he should be received *after* a form of government should have been established [i. e. by Congress] and not *before*. (Speech of Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania, chairman of the committee on Territories). In support of which Mr. Strong quotes from

representative of a state, but of a state not in the Union; and, therefore, not entitled to representation in congress; (3) congress could not admit the delegate without at the same time recognizing a legal existence for the "state" from which he came as delegate; (4) the boundaries of the proposed state, as described in the preamble of the Constitution, included portions of both California and Oregon.³⁸

Those who favored the admission of a delegate from Deseret opposed these technical, legal grounds for his rejection, with the broad American principle of the right of a community to representation in legislative bodies where their interests were to be determined; and the right of a community to be self-governing. The case of the delegate and people of Deseret was most effectively stated by Mr. McDonald, of Indiana, who said:

"The people of that territory had provided a state government—a political organization. They were unquestionably citizens of the United States, and their interests should be promoted here by the admission of an accredited agent, capable of furnishing any information which might be required. . . . But the chairman of the committee on elections says, that because Deseret has adopted a state constitution, therefore we must not admit her delegate, lest, thereby, we adopt her constitution also. Does the gentleman believe that the house of representatives can admit a state into the Union?³⁹ Can we, by a resolution of the house, admit a state into the confederacy? Surely not. We cannot, then so recognize the political institutions which these people have formed as to give them more force or effect than attaches to them at this time. Nor do we, by the simple admission of a delegate here to represent the wishes of that

the memorial—"and, upon the adoption of any form of government here, that their Delegate be received, and their interests properly and faithfully represented in the Congress of the United States."

38. For the debates on this whole question see *Congressional Globe*, Vol. XXII, *passim*, but more especially, pp. 1413-1423. An effort was later made to secure Babbitt's admission on the same credentials after congress had passed the enabling act (Sept. 9th, 1850) creating the Territory of Utah, and fixing its boundaries; but this, too, failed (*Ibid.*, pp. 1811, 1850, 1868); though an appropriation was made by Congress allowing him the same for mileage that was allowed the delegate from Oregon—\$2,460. (*Cong. Globe*, Vol. XXII, pp. 1779, 1949). Douglaston when presenting the same to the senate, at the request of the House Committee on Territories, named the amount given above, but said it was "for mileage and compensation" (*Cong. Globe*, Vol. XXI, p. 822), to be paid out of the contingent fund of the house.

39. Mr. McDonald had previously shown that it would require the co-operation of House senate and executive to do that.

people, adopt or recognize any political organization established by themselves. . . .

From the memorial of the legislature of Deseret, which has been read, and from the report of the committee on elections, it seems that these people have acted with great forbearance, prudence, and moderation. For purpose of self protection, they formed a state government; and they call upon the congress of the United States, either to give them a state government, or to form such other organic law, or regulations as congress in its wisdom many think proper. It is true they did not expect their delegate to take his seat until some form of government had been furnished. But could they have believed that congress would have remained seven months in session and that the question of their organization would not during that long period, even have been approached? And may not this unprecedented delay on the part of congress in acting for the people of that territory, very justly have induced a departure from the strict line of instructions which Mr. Babbitt had received, so that he might ask to be admitted at once, to represent the rights and interests of the people who sent him here? * * * He is admitted merely that he may give information as to the people whom he represents—that he may present their petitions here and ask for them such legislation as may be suited to their peculiar wants and condition.”⁴⁰

Meantime another event had happened which promised for a time to brighten the prospects of “Deseret” in gaining admission into the Union. This was the arrival in Salt Lake valley of General John Wilson with a small military escort, on a mission to the Salt Lake Colonists from President Zachary Taylor.

The general arrived on the 20th of August, 1849. He had been appointed United States Indian Agent for California, by President Zachary Taylor, and was enroute to the field of his labors. The private mission from President Taylor in substance he stated as follows: Trouble was anticipated in the then approaching congress which would convene in December.

40. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXII, pp. 1413, 1414. Mr. McDonald had proposed an amendment to the resolution of the committee on territories, rejecting Mr. Babbitt, in the following language; “That Almon A. Babbitt be admitted to a seat in their House of Representatives of the United States, as a delegate from the territory of Deseret, for the present congress.” His remarks above were in support of this amendment.

Texas had been annexed and was a slave state. So extensive was her territory, that it was capable of being divided into several states all of which, of course, would become slave states. The treaty which closed the war with Mexico had resulted in the United States obtaining an immense area of country, out of which new states and territories would be carved; and, of course, there was in prospect a terrible struggle between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties, the former seeking to establish slavery in, and the latter to exclude it from the states and territories to be made out of this new accession of country. It was thought by the administration, that if a large state extending from the Pacific Ocean eastward to Salt Lake—including all the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States—was admitted as one state, leaving the question of slavery to be determined by the people of the state; it would remove the question from congress; and if the proposed state was voted free, as most likely it would be, it would offset the then late accession of Texas and thus calm the rising storm over that question.

General Wilson stated, that so eager was the President of the United States in regard to the subject, that if he (Wilson) found any difficulty in the way, his instructions were to appeal to the patriotism of the Mormon people.

Elder Taylor, Charles C. Rich, and Daniel Spencer were appointed to confer with General Wilson upon the subject of his mission. The result of those deliberations was a proposal by the people of Salt Lake valley, California agreeing therewith, to form a state unitedly, and continue in that condition two years; after which the eastern part of the state was to be formed into a state by itself.

The dissolution of the one state into two, however, at the beginning of 1851 was to be realized automatically by the fulfillment of terms agreed upon in the constitution to be adopted, without any further action of congress. "We are to have a general constitution for two states," writes Brigham Young to Amasa M. Lyman, then in California, "the boundaries of the one mentioned by us, before referred to, [the boundaries of the State of Deseret already described] is our state, the other

boundaries to be defined by the people on the coast, to be agreed upon in a general convention; the two states to be consolidated in one and named as the convention shall think proper, but to be dissolved at the commencement of the year 1851, each one having its own constitution, and each becoming a free, sovereign, independent state, without any further action of congress." And "in case of a consolidated state being formed," "the constitution must, *bona fide*, remain unalterable during the consolidation."⁴¹

Elder Amasa M. Lyman was appointed a delegate to co-operate with General Wilson in representing the Salt Lake Valley colonists to the convention it was proposed to call in California. General Wilson in representing the Salt Lake valley however, was delayed in his journey by snow storms and did not reach California until late in January, 1850. And by this time California had already held her constitutional convention, adopted her constitution,⁴² agreed upon the boundaries of the state, and its first legislature, on the arrival of General Wilson, was in session at San Jose, where it had convened on the 15th of December. The proposals which *Messrs.* Willison and Lyman were authorized to make on behalf of the people of Deseret to California's constitutional convention, were made by memorial to that state's legislature; but Governor P. H. Burnett

41. The letter to Lyman is given *in extenso* in Hist. Brigham Young, and is a strong document, cautious yet bold, and it gives a fine illustration of the statesman-like fore-sight of Brigham Young. (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 3, September 6, 1849, pp. 24-31).

42. When the national Congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1849, all that had been done in the way of providing civil government for the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico was to extend over it the revenue laws, and to make San Francisco a part of entry. Because Congress had thus failed to provide civil government for the ceded territory (See Bancroft's California, Vol. XI, ch. XII), the people of California proceeded to install a state government for themselves. The convention chosen by the people met on the first of September, at Monterey, and completed its work by the 13th of October (*Ibid*). This action on the part of the people of California was also irregular and without the authority of law, and was necessarily based upon the same facts and principle upon which the people of Deseret acted, viz., the neglect and even refusal of the national congress to provide civil government, the right of the people to civil government, and self government at that, in some form or other. There was strong opposition to the admission of California, chiefly from the southern states, primarily, no doubt, upon the questions of slavery involved in her admission; but also on the ground that her course in applying for admission was irregular, and her "constitution had been formed without the authority of law." (Hist. United States Stephen's, p. 513). She was admitted into the Union, however, as part of Senator Henry Clay's great compromise measure, on the 9th of September, 1850.

reviewed the several proposals one by one in a message to the legislature, condemning them all. Among other things he held that the communities were too far apart to be united even temporarily, and that "Texas and Maine might as well be made one state as Deseret and California."⁴³ The Legislature, whether in consequence of the governor's views or for independent reasons does not appear, refused consideration of the memorial, and there the matter ended.

It may not now be determined what produced the change in the minds of leaders of the Salt Lake colonists in relation to a more earnest desire for a state rather than for a territorial government for Deseret. It may have been the incident of the visit of General Wilson, and the more careful consideration of the advantages of a state government as against a territorial government, necessarily involved in the proposition of a state government in temporary union with California. Or it may have been the views of Col. Thomas L. Kane upon the subject, expressed to Messrs. Bernhisel and Woodruff and reported to Brigham Young, in which he pointed out the undesirability of a territorial government for Deseret, and the necessity of a state government in order to procure the political peace and happiness of her people. His views have already been stated in this chapter. No matter which of these incidents produced

43. Editorial in the *Frontier Guardian*, 29th May, 1850. Also *Deseret News* July 6th, 1850, p. 51. The effort on the part of President Zachary Taylor to establish governments in the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States, is the subject of his message, with accompanying documents, of the 21st of January, 1850. The message of the President was in response to a resolution of the house of representatives asking for information and official documents upon the subject of executive interference in the formation of state or territorial governments in New Mexico and California (see Congressional Globe, Vol. XXI, p. 90). In his message nothing is said by the President of Deseret and the mission of General Wilson because the inquiry of the house resolution did not mention the Deseret colonies. The President admitted having appointed Hon. Thomas Buttler King, congressman from Georgia, as bearer of dispatches to California, and the appointment of certain officers to California, and New Mexico, whose duties were defined in department letters transmitted with his message. He then adds: "I did not hesitate to express to the people of these territories my desire that each territory should, if prepared to comply with the requisitions of the constitution of the United States, form a plan of a state constitution, and submit the same to congress with a prayer for admission into the Union as a state; but I did not anticipate, suggest, or authorize the establishment of any such government without the assent of congress, nor did I authorize any government agent or officer to interfere with or exercise any influence or control over the election of delegates, or over any convention, in making or modifying their domestic institutions, or any of the provisions of their proposed constitution." (Message and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. V, pp. 26-30).

the change—perhaps both were contributing causes—the change came and that after they had both received the report of California's legislature refusing to consider the question of uniting the Salt Lake and Pacific Coast communities into one state; and the views of Col. Kane, that they had better remain as they were than to accept a territorial government. The general assembly of Deseret passed a series of resolutions to the effect that their agent, Dr. Bernhisel, and their delegate, Almon W. Babbitt, be instructed to withdraw all petitions, memorials, and applications to congress for a territorial government; that they use all proper means to procure an early admission of the State of Deseret under the constitution presented; and representing that it would be far better for the people of Deseret to remain as they were, until congress should see proper to admit them as a state, than to accept a territorial government.⁴⁴

A committee of three was appointed to draft a letter to accompany the resolutions;⁴⁵ and that communication very ably presented the case for a state government, as will be seen by a few excerpts from it:

“If congress has passed, at the present session, an act for the organization of a territory called “Utah Territory,” which they design for us, regardless of all our feelings in the matter, then we have only to yield our quiet acquiescence therein, for the time being only urging the more strenuously, the early adjustment of our boundaries, and acceptances of our constitution and admission. If, on the contrary, they have adjourned, and no action had upon the subject, you will only urge our claims for admission as a state. * * * Had congress given us a territorial organization in the first instance all would have been well: (This doubtless in reference to the application Col. Kane was authorized to make, see Note 3) for then we could have tracked accordingly. But what else, we ask, during the tardy action of congress, could we have done, than what we have? Should we have lain dormant, and permitted our settlements to be overrun by the natives, and ourselves by the lawless and most blameable inaction and indifference, characterise our lack

44. *Deseret News* for Sept. 21, 1850. The resolutions are there given at length. The influence of Col. Kane's suggestions are discernible throughout.

45. D. H. Wells, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Spencer were the committee.

of interest for the welfare of our existence as an enlightened or civilized people. . .

“Do they object to the name of our state? It is good enough for us, who have to wear it. Do they object to our numbers as being insufficient? Let them take the census! Do they object to our boundaries? Let them leave it to the inhabitants who dwell therein to decide, and if they choose to go into western California, or have a state of their own south of us so let it be. * * * We admit the boundary asked for is large, when we consider the area; but if land susceptible of cultivation, that will admit of a dense population, is taken into consideration, it is not so large; and we are not advised of a single dissenting voice within our proposed boundaries, that objects to being included therein. . .

“What propriety or consistency is there in granting us a territorial, and California a state government? When our actual settlers out number them as five to three; and, moreover, those who have been expected to locate there, are at this moment flowing back upon us by hundreds and thousands? We admit the potency of gold; but should not a nation be willing, nay, seek to cherish those who are endeavoring to render her most sterile and barren domain productive; who are extending settlements, making improvements, and developing the national resources of hitherto unexplored regions, thereby adding to the national wealth? . . .

“Let congress give us a government based as all republican governments should be, upon the authority of the people; let them decide our boundaries in accordance with the wishes of the actual settlers, or residents therein, upon the principle of common justice, according and guaranteeing unto us those rights and immunities only, which are the privilege of American citizens in like, or similar circumstances.”⁴⁶

The effort to obtain a state rather than a territorial government, came too late, however, even if it could, in any event, have influenced the action of the national congress. The resolutions of the state's general assembly were passed on the 11th of September; the act creating a territorial government for Utah, became a law on the 9th day of the same month and year. The act creating the territory very greatly reduced the area that had been proposed for the boundaries of the state; or for the terri-

46. *Deseret News* of Sept. 21st, 1850, where the letter is given at length.

tory of Deseret;⁴⁷ and it altogether ignored the wishes of the people with reference to the name of the state or territory to be formed by act of congress. The territory of Utah was created; the boon of statehood was withheld for half a century, less four years.

NOTE 1: LETTER TO PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK; SUNDAY (AUGUST) 9:1846: "The following letter to President Polk was read by Dr. Richards and unanimously sanctioned;—[i. e., by the Council].

"To James K. Polk, President of the United States.

"Sir:—A large portion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, having passed from the nation of our nativity, and the republic over which you have the honor to preside, and finding ourselves on the western shore of the great Missouri, while others of our friends are following close in our rear, beg your Excellency's indulgence for a moment, while we pour out the pure feelings of our souls before you.

The cause of our exile we need not repeat, it is already with you, suffice it to say that a combination of fortuitous, illegal and unconstitutional circumstances have placed us in our present situation, on a journey which we design shall end in a location west of the Rocky Mountains, and within the basin of the Great Salt Lake or Bear River Valley, as soon as circumstances shall permit, believing that to be a point where a good living will require hard labor, and consequently will be coveted by no other people, while it is surrounded by so unpopulous but fertile country.

While on our way thither and beyond the borders of the states, we were met by Captain J. Allen of your Army of the West, proffering us the enrollment of five hundred men to be marched into California, *via* Santa Fe, there to be discharged at the expiration of one year, receiving the pay of regular soldiers and other valuable and unusual enrollments; to this offer we promptly responded, though it has left five hundred of our loaded teams standing on the prairies of the Pottawatomie and Omaha nations, and nearly as many families destitute of their head and guardians, only as they are counseled and nourished

47. The boundaries were as follows: "All that part of the Territory of the United States included within the following limits *to wit*: bounded on the west by the state of California [Which then extended on the east to the 120th degree of West longitude]; on the north by the territory of Oregon [to the 42nd degree of North latitude]; on the east by the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and on the south by the 37th parallel of north latitude." (Charter creating Territory of Utah, sec. 1).

by their friends who were already overborne with cares and worn out with anxiety and fatigues; but in the midst of this we were cheered with the presence of our friend, Mr. Little of New Hampshire, who assured us of the personal friendship of the President, in the act before us, and this assurance, though not doubted by us in the least, was soon made doubly sure by the testimony of Col. Kane of Philadelphia, whose presence in our midst, and the ardor with which he has espoused the cause of a persecuted and suffering people, and the testimony he has borne of your Excellency's kind feelings, have kindled up a spark in our hearts which had been well nigh extinguished, not a spark of love of liberty or democracy, that cannot be, [i. e., love of liberty or democracy had not been extinguished] but love of a country or rulers, from whom previously we had received but little save neglect or persecution.

We also received assurances from Lieut. Col. Allen of the Mormon Battalion, that we should be safe, and that it would be proper for us to stop on any Indian lands, while it was necessary, considering our hindrance in filling his command, and during the pleasure of the President which we fully anticipate will be during all necessary time, and in view of all things here referred to, and many more which the hurrying duties of the camp will not permit us to mention at this time.

1. *Resolved*, That as children of the United States, we have not been disappointed in our anticipations of a brighter day and a more righteous administration in our endeavors for the canvass of his Excellency, James K. Polk, to the Presidency.

2. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this people be presented to President Polk for his friendly offer of transferring five hundred of our brethren to the land of their destination under command of Col. Allen.

3. *Resolved*, That should we locate within the territory of the United States, as we anticipate, we would esteem a territorial government of our own, as one of the richest boons of earth, and while we appreciate the Constitution of the United States as the most precious among the nations, we feel that we had rather retreat to the deserts, islands or mountain caves than consent to be ruled by governors and judges whose hands are drenched in the blood of innocence and virtue, who delight in injustice and oppression, and whose greatest glory is to promote the misery of their fellows for their own aggrandisement, or lustful gratification.

Having received the strongest assurances of assistance and protection from President Polk through our highly esteemed friend, Col. Kane, and that he will continue to use all constitu-

tional powers at his disposal for our good, regardless of popular clamor and cabinet intrigues, to establish us in a land where we can sustain our wives and children, *to help us to a territorial government*, so that we may dwell in peace under our own vine, and eat the fruit of our own labor, and that he will defend us against every aggression by the strong arm of twenty millions of free-men, and all their immense resources, and that he will ward off the scourge of oppression, the rod of tyranny, and the sword of death by all means that God and his country have placed at his disposal—

4. *Resolved*, That we have heard from various sources and have the same confirmed by Col. Kane, that the friends of ex-Governor Boggs, are endeavoring to make him Governor of California, and that we as a people are bound to oppose said Boggs in every point and particular that shall tend to exalt him in any country where our lot may be cast, and that *peace* and *Mormonism*, which are always *undivided*, and Lilburn W. Boggs, *cannot dwell together*, and we solicit the attention of President Polk to this important item in the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory of our glorious Republic.

5. *Resolved*, That *as soon as we are settled in the Great Basin we design to petition the United States for a territorial government*, bounded on the north by the British and south by the Mexican dominions, and east and west by the summits of the Rocky and Cascade mountains.

6. *Therefore, Resolved*, That we have the fullest confidence in the friendly protection of President Polk, that our hearts are with him to do good, and sustain the best government of earth, that he may depend on our warmest gratitude, and our cordial co-operation in all things that shall tend to exalt him, and our fellow creatures, and that our faith, prayers and blessing shall rest upon him, so long as he shall magnify those glorious principles he has espoused, which we trust will be eternally.

“Done on the West Bank of the Missouri River, near Council Bluffs, Omaha nation, August 9, 1846, in general council of the church aforesaid.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
President.
WILLARD RICHARDS,
Clerk.”

“P. S.—Please give us your views of Col. Allen’s permit for us to stop on Indian lands, as soon as your convenience will permit. Direct to N. K. Whitney, John H. Hale and Daniel Spencer, Mormon Camp, near Council Bluffs, Fort Leavenworth P. O.”

NOTE 2: REFUSAL OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE GREAT BASIN: The statement in the text of the History, that the United States not only failed to provide civil government in the Great Basin but refused to do it for some time, is quite right and provable. President Zachary Taylor in a special message to congress under date of January 21, 1850, transmitting certain documents and information respecting the founding of government in the ceded territory, says:

“On coming into office, I found the military commandant of the Department of California exercising the functions of civil governor in that territory; and left, as I was, under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, without the aid of any legislative provision establishing a government in that territory, I thought it best not to disturb that arrangement, made under my predecessor, until congress should take some action on that subject. I therefore did not interfere with the powers of the military commandant, who continued to exercise the functions of civil governor as before, but I made no such appointment, conferred no such authority, and have allowed no increased compensation to the commandant for his service.”

This represents the conditions existing as to civil government in the ceded territory up to Jan. 23rd, 1850.

Later, in the same message, after discussing the matter of California's application for admission as a state in the Union, and referring to the part of the ceded territory “uninhabited, except in a settlement of our countrymen in the vicinity of Salt Lake,” President Taylor remarked:

“No material inconvenience will result from the want, for a short period, of a government established by congress over that part of the territory which lies eastward of the new state of California.” (Message and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. V, pp. 26-30).

On the 11th of December, 1848, there had been referred to the House Committee on Territories, a resolution instructing that committee to “inquire into the expediency of so dividing the territory of Upper California as to organize and extend a district territorial government over that portion of said territory which includes the white settlement in the vicinity of the Salt Lake.” Early in January Mr. Rockwell of Massachusetts, made an adverse report on the matter, and it was laid on the table. So that congress, I say, not only failed to provide civil government for the Great Basin territory, but refused to do so, at least from the acquisition of the ceded territory in February, 1848, to January, 1850, a period of about two years. And since the

general government would not take the initiative in establishing civil government, were not the people justified in doing so?

The statement of President Taylor in the above to the effect that no material inconvenience would result from a further delay in the establishment of government by congress in the territory east of California, reveals a lack of information in the part of the President of the actual conditions prevailing in the Salt Lake Valley; for in addition to the considerable Mormon population in the valley—by this time, 1850, numbering 11,380, there was the annual migration through their settlements of thousands of gold seekers who arrived in the valley with many differences and claims to be settled, and naturally expected in such a community as they found on the shores of the Great Salt Lake and in adjacent valleys, civil government established and courts of law to which they might appeal for a settlement of personal grievances and property rights. And while, if the Mormon colonies had been entirely isolated, and had remained exclusively Mormon, they would have found the organization of their Church, and submission to the rulings of its ecclesiastical courts adequate for the maintenance of substantial justice and the good order of society, still a population of mixed faiths, and conflicting interests such as the colonies in the Great Basin were rapidly becoming, could not be expected to be satisfied with the rule of a church in civil affairs; so that there was very great need for the establishment of civil government in the Salt Lake Valley, and very material inconvenience and serious complications were likely to arise by the government continuing to delay, even for a short period longer, the establishment of government by congress over the territory in the Great Basin, President Taylor to the contrary notwithstanding.

NOTE 3. THE VIEWS OF COL. KANE ON THE DESIRABILITY OF A STATE RATHER THAN OF A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE SALT LAKE COLONISTS. Col. Kane said:

“You must not commit yourselves to any party, but keep a close mouth with all parties, and the most discreet and wise course must be pursued, in order to do anything at all. I will do what I can with the free soil party, my father and Mr. Dallas with the Democrats. It will be the most critical Congress ever held.

“I applied, according to the wish of President Young, for a territorial government. I had my last sad, and painful interview with President Polk. I found he did not feel disposed to favor your people, and he had his men of his own stamp picked out to serve as governor and other officers, who would have oppressed you or injured you in any way to fill their own pockets. He

would not appoint men from among yourselves, and I saw it absolutely necessary that you should have officers of your own people, to govern you, or you were better without any government. I had to use my own discretion, and I withdrew the petition. I am fully decided upon that point—that you must have officers of yourselves, and not military politicians strutting around in your midst, and usurping authority over you. It will not do for you to take up the slavery question, or anti-slavery, or any other side, but be neutral.

“Atchison of Missouri, with the Mormon opposing party, will still be your enemies. Thomas Benton has been an inveterate enemy, and still may be. And all the parties, with the whole congress, are a mass of corruption and abomination. They are all governed by party management, without any regard to principle, and if we do anything upon this subject we shall have to enter into wise management. We have to favor the South some, though they are your enemies, and I hate to do it. Parties are all breaking up and new ones are forming, and no man can tell what a day will bring forth. Thomas Benton was the head of your being driven from Winter Quarters, in the Indian country, and Polk favored it, and I could not turn them from their purpose. I told Mr. Polk we should not present any petition while he dictated matters. Benton is still your enemy at heart. Douglas is going down with a certain class connected with him. The time was when he could have done your people much good by merely bearing his testimony of your good character while he was judge in Illinois, and he would not do it.”

Notwithstanding this opinion respecting Douglas' course, that senator, as will be seen from the text of this History, continued for some time, at least, to assist the agents of the Salt Lake colonists in getting their several measures before the senate.

NOTE 4: DR. BERNHISEL'S ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON FOR THE ADMISSION OF THE STATE OF DESERET: The doctor arrived at Washington on November 30, 1849, and took temporary lodgings at the National Hotel which he described as “the center of politics, fashions and folly.” “I met Gen. Cass,” he remarks, “at his invitation, in the senate chamber on the first day of the session, and was introduced to the Vice-President, Willard Fillmore, Mr. John C. Calhoun and a number of other senators. The Vice-President kindly granted me the privilege of the floor of the senate during my sojourn in Washington. On the same day I was also admitted to the privileged seats on the floor of the house of representatives. I merely mention these things to show that the prophecy which you delivered in the council in

regard to my reception at Washington has been literally fulfilled.

“Since my arrival here I have been quite busy among the grave senators, the impulsive representatives of the people, and other functionaries. I took ground and did not experience any difficulty in making the acquaintance of all the leading men in both houses of congress, and that of a host of other members, though not particularly distinguished, yet highly respectable and influential. I conversed freely with all of them, explained matters to them, and answered objections.

“In the early part of the session I called on the editors of all the leading journals in this city, and furnished each of them with a copy of the Memorial and Constitution of Deseret. I also handed copies of them to members of congress, as well as to heads of departments whenever an opportunity presented itself, and I presume that all have not seen them. I also sent a copy to the editor of the New York Herald, which he published. The constitution is highly approved by the South, because it contains no clause inhibiting the introduction of slavery, but the Free Soilers and many other northern members object to it on that ground.”

The Doctor gave an account of the presentation December 27th, 1849, of the memorial and constitution of Deseret to the senate by Judge Douglas, who asked for the admission of Deseret into the Union as a state or for a territorial government, leaving the alternative with congress; and of the presentation of the same to the house by Hon. Lynn Boyd, Jan. 3rd; at which time objection being made they were laid over till the 28th, when they were referred to the committee on territories and ordered to be printed.

About the same time Senator Underwood presented a memorial from William Smith and Isaac Sheen. A similar document was presented to the house by Mr. Stanton. The wholesale calumny contained in Smith and Sheen’s memorial created quite a sensation in both wings of the capitol, and it was referred to the Committee on Territories and ordered to be printed.

The doctor feeling it his special duty and privilege to disabuse the minds of members of congress called upon them in relation to the memorial and thereby had many opportunities of setting before them the history and belief of the Saints. In his interviews with Senator Underwood he refused the charges of Smith and Sheen as to the disloyalty of our people, their refusal to obey the laws of the United States, etc.

In conclusion the Senator remarked to the Doctor, that our people had performed a great deal of work in the valley,—that it

was wonderful that they had been able to make a settlement in that remote region and gather so many people there. The Doctor replied, that considering the circumstances under which the settlement was made, and in so short a time, it was certainly wonderful; and added, that whatever else our enemies denied us, they could not deny us enterprise and industry. The Senator agreed with this view. The Doctor then asked if it were possible for a body of so depraved, vicious and abominable wretches, as we were represented to be, to perform such wonders as we had performed and maintain a spirit of peace, concord and harmony? The Senator replied "That it was not." (History of Brigham Young Ms. Bk. for 1850, pp. 39, 40 41, 42).

Historic Views and Reviews

A POSSIBLE RARE FIND TO ENRICH NEW YORK DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

In constructing the barge canal through Wayne County in 1912, among the tracts of land acquired for the purpose of enlargement of the original Erie Canal, was a small lot on the edge of the Montezuma marshes, in the neighborhood of the village of Clyde, on which stood a little two-room shack, belonging to a hunter and trapper. In demolishing the shack an old trunk was found which appeared to have been owned at one time by Judge Tremper, of Kingston, Ulster county. Judge Tremper lived in the times of the American Revolution and was a prominent citizen of Ulster county, some of the name settling also in Dutchess county.

On opening the ancient trunk there were disclosed a variety of historical documents referring to events relating to the period before and after the Revolution. Among these were two furloughs granted to Revolutionary soldiers signed by General George Washington, an old account book of John Jacob Astor, the noted fur trader and progenitor of the Astor family in America, and several deeds dating back to a period of time before such instruments were officially recorded.

The custom of that time appears to have been the deeds written in duplicate on a single sheet of paper and the duplicate instruments roughly torn apart and the genuineness of either instrument proved by the matching of the irregular edge with its duplicate.

It is understood that the finders took measures to dispose of the contents of the trunk so that the valuable papers and records should be placed in the library of some historical society

for safe keeping. It will be interesting to learn further as to the value of the contents of the trunk.



REVERENCE FOR THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

A HAPPY DISCOVERY

City Librarian David N. Carvalho, of Baltimore, in turning over the books in his custody in the work of cataloguing them, found in an out of the way place a handsomely bound copy of the Declaration of Independence, engrossed on vellum and attested by Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. The copy was presented to the Common Council of Baltimore on July 4, 1828, and was intended to be used in refreshing the memories of that body respecting the Declaration, on every Fourth of July.

The attestation of Mr. Carroll was as follows:

“Grateful to Almighty God for the blessings which, through Jesus Christ our Lord, He has conferred on my beloved country, in her emancipation, and upon myself, in permitting me, under circumstance of great mercy, to live to the age of 89 years and to survive the fiftieth year of American Independence, and certifying by my present signature my approbation of the Declaration of Independence, adopted by Congress on the Fourth day of July, 1776, to which I originally subscribed on the second day of August of the same year, and of which I am now the last surviving signer, I do hereby recommend to the present and future generations, the principles of that important document as the best earthly inheritance their ancestors could bequeath to them, and I pray that the civil and religious liberties they have secured to my country may be perpetuated to the remotest posterity, and extended to the whole family of man.

“CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton.”

On December 5, 1912, Mr. Baxter caused the foregoing article to be re-published in the New York Sun, with the following comment:

“How plainly the earnest words of Mr. Carroll’s attestation, with their religious fervor, indicate that they were written when the Declaration and the Constitution were sacred and revered documents, and not, as is the case in these politically wise days, simply subjects for criticism and fault finding.

“JOHN F. BAXTER.”



EARLY NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS

William Bradford, the first printer in the Middle Colonies, who set up a printing press in Philadelphia in 1685, and removed to New York in 1693 as printer for the government, on October 23, 1725, issued the first number of “The Gazette” the first newspaper published in New York city. It was a small sheet badly printed, and its contents were made up chiefly of government reports, laws, messages and speeches, with meagre foreign and domestic news, shipping items and advertisement. Already he had issued in Philadelphia the “Kalendarium Pennsylvaniae” for 1685 and published his tract “Appeal to the People” in 1691, which caused his press, type, etc., to be confiscated. Meantime there had been founded, three newspapers in Boston and Andrew Bradford, son of William Bradford, had established in Philadelphia, as early as 1709 the “American Weekly Mercurie.”

The supremacy of New York as a journalistic centre was slow in asserting itself, as both Philadelphia and Boston produced much more artistic and popular newspapers. Bradford held the field in New York for eight years, principally because he printed the laws of the province. In 1733 the best apprentice from his office, John Peter Zenger, left him to establish a rival journal. He was expert in the printer’s art, but had learned from his master none of his subservient loyalty to the powers that ruled the province. He had during his apprenticeship been a careful observer of the influence exerted by Governor Cosby in shaping the policy of the Gazette, and the incentive to start an opposition paper was largely due to his desire to further the

interests of the people and maintain the liberty of the press. In carrying out his radical plan he became antagonistic, not only to the views as expressed in the Gazette, but with those as well, held by the powers behind the Gazette. This condition resulted in the arrest of the editor and proprietor of the "New York Weekly Journal," the name given to his newspaper by Zenger, on a charge of criminal libel made by the government of the province on the grounds that Editor Zenger through his paper was seeking to alienate the affections of the people: "from the best of kings and raise factions, tumults and seditions among them."

As it was the first action of the kind ever undertaken on the Western Continent it created an intense excitement and called out a great popular protest. Zenger was held in jail with but little hope of a speedy trial, his accusers hoping to thus put to death the offending Journal. In this they were disappointed as the newspaper was continued, and each weekly issue was a further protest of the injustice of the prosecutors. The body of the brave sustainer of the rights of the people was held in prison, but his pen was busy, and its good work was seen in the columns of every successive weekly issue, and felt throughout the city and province as his ringing words of protest were read.

Nine months elapsed before he was brought to trial, August 4, 1735. Mr. Andrew Hamilton was counsel for the defendant, and he offered to prove the statements embraced in the alleged libel. This the court refused to allow, and the case went to the jury after a speech of remarkable vigor and eloquence in behalf of the defendant made by Mr. Hamilton. The jury brought in the unexpected verdict of not guilty, and at once the city went wild with excitement and manifestations of delight. The municipality voted to Editor Zenger the freedom of the city, presented in a gold box amid the applause of the audience, accompanied by the firing of cannon in the park. The scene was the dawn of independence, ushered in by the birth of the spirit that gave voice to the Declaration of July 4, 1776.

Opportunity was at the door of the office of the Journal, but its presence was not recognized by the released editor, and the spirit the incident created was allowed to slumber, and the New York Weekly Journal, unlike its contemporaries in Boston and

Philadelphia, did not swell the echoes of the applause that met the opposition to a free press, raised by an army of free men, and the paper died of slow starvation in its dingy basement office in New York city in 1752. It had few mourners and no successors and the now metropolis of America had no great journal to strengthen the hands of its patriots or join in the applause that ushered in the Declaration of Independence, both in Philadelphia and Boston.

When New York city was taken possession of by the British Army under General Howe in 1776, the few weak and irregularly issued newspapers, not avowedly Royalist, disappeared, and the Gazette was one of four weekly newspapers published under the sanction of the "Commander of the Royal Army." One of these was the Royal Gazetteer to which Major Andre was a regular contributor, and on the day he was captured at Tarrytown by the cow-boys, Paulding, Williams, and Van Wert and turned over to the commander of the Continental post at North Castle, a poem contributed to the Gazette appeared, entitled "The Cow Chase" the last verse of which read:

And now I've closed my epic strain
I tremble as I show it,
Lest that same warrior-drover Wayne
Should ever catch the poet."

The circulation of the Royal Gazetteer at that time was about 3,000 copies. It was edited by James Rivington, who had established it as a loyal organ in 1762. While the British occupied New York the loyalty of the Gazetteer to the king was financially remunerative, and consequently Rivington was so outspoken that the patriots in the city mobbed the printing office twice. In 1782 the tone of the paper changed, as indicated by the following announcement: "The publisher of this paper, sensible that his zeal for the success of His Majesty's arms, his sanguine wishes for the good of his country and his friendship for individuals, have at times led him to credit and circulate paragraphs without investigating the facts so closely as his duty to the public demanded, trusting to their feelings, and depend-

ing on their generosity, he begs them to look over past errors and depend on future correction." As a further evidence of his change of policy, he removed the Royal Arms from over his office door and dropped the word "Royal" from title of the paper, making it read "Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser," but even these radical concessions were of little avail, and this paper suspended the next year.

At the conclusion of peace Zenger's old paper was revived and published by John Holt as "The Independent Gazette" which was once or twice renamed, until it became the American Citizen, published daily, and the first organ of the Democratic party. This was not however the first daily newspaper published in New York, that honor belonging to the "Minerva," a paper started by the Federalists with Noah Webster as editor. The first copy was issued December 9, 1793, and soon after the "Minerva" became the "Commercial Advertiser" of which William L. Stone succeeded Noah Webster as editor, and he was in turn succeeded by Thurlow Weed, but it was not until Hugh J. Hastings and James Brooks successively became editors that the power of the paper was paramount as a powerful opponent to The Tribune as issued under the editorship of Horace Greeley.



JOHNSON'S IMPEACHMENT

General John B. Henderson, who proposed the Thirteenth Amendment, and was one of the seven Republican Senators who thwarted the attempt to "recall" President Johnson, has written for the December Century his recollections of "Emancipation and Impeachment"—a companion article to General Harrison Grey Otis' review of the events that led to the impeachment proceedings. Of the impeachment and his own attitude in voting against it he says: Article II, Section 4, of the Constitution provides that the President, Vice President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other

high crimes and misdemeanors. Thus the principle of the recall, in very broad terms, has been written into our fundamental law. Human nature is such that the idea of resorting to this remedy originates first in the minds of political opponents. As applicable to Presidents, the recall was probably much desired by the enemies of John Adams, the second President, and of Andrew Jackson, the seventh. Fortunately it has actually been invoked only against the seventeenth President. Andrew Johnson, who owed his position to the recall by assassination of Abraham Lincoln. His impeachment, I believe, was due mainly to a counter-tide of passion, prejudice and political revenge. His trial formed a crisis in the life of the nation, the dangerous import of which may not yet be fully understood. His rescue from conviction by the narrow margin of one vote was followed by demands for the recall of the seven Republican senators who voted with the Democrats. I happened to be the youngest of the seven, though not the least berated. By the refusal of a re-election, all of the seven were retired to private life. Then out of several years of bitterness came the wisdom of reflection. Those who had reviled, began to praise and finally to utter words of thankfulness. Even some of the leaders of impeachment, in the calm of reason, have put on record frank confessions of error. Thus it has been my happiness to live to see the keenest disappointment of my public life transformed into its chief honor.

At the second inauguration of Lincoln I was chairman of the committee which escorted the President to the Capitol, and sat by his side while Andrew Johnson, after taking the oath as Vice-President, harangued the crowded Senate chamber. During the painful ordeal Mr. Lincoln's head dropped in the deepest humiliation. As I offered him my arm for the procession to the steps of the Capitol, where he delivered the inaugural, he turned to the marshal and said, "Don't let Johnson speak outside."

Senator Doolittle, who had escorted the Vice-President elect to the Capitol, told me that when they went into Mr. Hamlin's room Johnson said to the retiring Vice-President:

"Mr. Hamlin, I have been feeling very ill. Can you give me some good brandy?"

A bottle of French brandy was found, and to brace his nerves

for the task before him, he poured out the full glass that wrought the mischief. His reputation was that of a temperate man; and this was his only show of inebriety; but the scene was so deeply humiliating that a caucus of Senators a few days afterward seriously considered the propriety of asking him to resign as their presiding officer.

General Henderson then, after narrating a story told by President Lincoln at the time, based upon his own disuse of liquor and tobacco, describes his serious disagreements with General Grant and Senator Sumner on the question of impeachment which caused a break in his friendship with Senator Sumner, which lasted for several years, and was healed only when Sumner invited Henderson to dinner at the time the Santo Domingo controversy was at its height. General Henderson continues: I was a little surprised, but I went to his dinner, where I found a very good company. When I was ready to bid him good night he insisted on my staying, as he wished to talk with me; but I was reluctant, as I wanted to do some work before I went to sleep. Still he insisted, and after Senator Thurman, who lingered enjoying his cigar, had gone, Sumner said that he had desired for several years to have a private talk with me over the impeachment of Johnson. He then said impressively:

“I want to say that in that matter you were right and I was wrong.”

“Mr. Senator,” I answered, “I am very glad to hear you say so for my own satisfaction, and also on your own account, because your course was a disappointment. I believed that you would take ground against impeachment.

“That was my original impression,” he replied, “but Johnson talked so foolishly, and was so abusive, I came to believe it would be just as well to turn him out.” After a pause he repeated earnestly: “I didn’t want to die without making this confession, that in the matter of impeachment you were right and I was wrong. But,” he added, “if it is just as convenient to you, I would rather you would say nothing about it until I am dead—and I won’t live many years.”

A STUDY OF A RURAL COMMUNITY

The Express Printing Company of Lititz, Pa., announces the publication of "A Study of a Rural Community," by Charles Wm. Super, Ph.D., LL.D., former president of the Ohio University and author of History of the German Language and of contributions on Historical, Educational, Ethical and Philosophical topics to German-American and British periodicals. This valuable contribution to ethnological knowledge of the early Pennsylvania-Central portion of the State, were published in "The Pennsylvania-German settlements, and especially those of the South vania-German," a monthly magazine edited by H. W. Kriebel, and contained in the January, February, March, and April numbers of 1911. In this form they attracted our attention, and we are glad that they proved so interesting and valuable as to induce Doctor Super to revise the series and publish them in book form for general distribution. In this series he has preserved with unvarying distinctness, reminiscences of three generations, the first contemporaneous with his grandfather, born in the eighteenth century, the second with his father, born early in the nineteenth century, and the third with his own, beginning before the middle of the nineteenth century. Of the latter he tells of what he saw as well as of what he learned.

As a student of ethnology, a keen observer of the present and a researcher into the past, Doctor Super brings to us in the pages of this "Study of a Rural Community" a rich mine of well arranged facts, interesting in every detail and not dull in a single particular. Its philosophy is such as we have all studied and thought out in our own lines, especially if like the reviewer we were brought up in the same environments, but we have hardly dared to call our reasoning philosophy. Our regrets that we did not draw out from our intimate associates of the first and second generation in our boyhood days all they knew of the two or three generations before are very kin to the thoughts and expressions of the author and there is a bond of sympathy that makes us drink in his words, applaud his skill in expressing our very thoughts, and put out to him our hand with a hearty, thank you, as we close the book, but to reopen it often as the lessons call

for a further elucidation from his skilled form of expression preserved by the type. It is a book to be read and handed to our children to read, especially if we hope to keep them wedded to the soil or brought back to it if they have been lured away. It is the very essence of rural life illuminated by a philosopher who has read the thoughts of every intelligent boy, brought up with the smell of the soil in his nostrils.



AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS

LAMB'S TEXTILE INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES. Editor-in-chief, John Howard Brown; managing editor, E. M. Norris. In Four Volumes. Vol. I, \$10. Boston: James H. Lamb Company.

The first volume of a series on the textile industries of this country contains much information of use to everyone interested in cotton manufacturing. Cotton is placed at the head of the textile manufactures of the world. Among the contributors are Daniel C. Roper and E. M. Norris, who tell the history of cotton production in the United States; C. M. Blaisdell and A. L. Smith, whose topics are Egyptian cotton and cotton ginning; W. W. Finley, who treats transportation in its relation to the cotton industry; William F. Draper, author of a history of spinning; George Crompton, who revised a history of weaving, and George O. Draper, who treats the subject of textile machinery. The evolution of the transmission of water-power is described by Charles T. Main; Sidney B. Paine discusses electric power as applied to textile machinery; F. W. Dean's contribution is on mill engineering, and the history of factory fire insurance is related by Frederick Downs. Other articles are on bleaching, dyeing and printing by L. Da Costa Ward, dyestuffs and dyeing industries by H. A. Metz, the coal tar dye industry by J. F. Schoellkopf, and cotton seed and its products by E. M. Norris. In Carl Gellei's sketch of cotton speculation in America is an account of the operations of Daniel Sully.

The biographical sketches of such men as Samuel Slater, George O. and William F. Draper, William W. Crapo, Frederick C. Sayles, John Crane Whitin, William Whitman, Stephen Greene and George Crompton are commendable in their freedom from excessive eulogy. The series promises to make one of the most important industrial works ever published in America.



HISTORIC NEW ENGLAND TOWNS REVISITED—OR BACK ON MY NATIVE HEATH

The above is the title of a series of contributions by the Rev. Andrew M. Sherman, of Morristown, N. J., the initial number of which will appear in the January, 1913, issue of AMERICANA.

This series will be descriptive of a visit recently made by the author and his brother to several of the old historic towns in the eastern part of the Old Bay State, including Bridgewater, Plymouth, Kingston, Duxbury and Marshfield, in the latter of which the author was born, and in the former of which he spent a part of his early boyhood.

Genealogy and history of great value, much of which has never before been in print, will be interspersed with incidents and anecdotes, and with reminiscences of the author, particularly of his early days in old Bridgewater.

The series will be illustrated with halftone engravings of building, private and public, and of interesting views and historic spots in the different towns visted by the author.



HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN AMERICA

New York, The Jewish Press Publishing Company, 1912

The author of this work, Mr. Peter Weinknik, has condensed in a handy volume of four hundred and thirty pages with an exhaustive index of nineteen pages, a mass of general information

that will be welcomed by every student of history, and found an indispensable addition to the library of every Jewish family in America.

The growth of these families in the United States from less than one thousand in 1813, to nearly as many million in 1913, is phenomenal. Mr. Wiekniak does not devote much space to a consideration of the early history of the Jews in America, but fully elucidates the contemporaneous history of the Jew, as he becomes so large a factor in the life of the American Nation. The work is divided into seven parts: Part 1 deals with the Spanish and Portuguese Period; Part 2 with the Dutch and English Colonial Period; Part 3 with the Revolution and the Period of Expansion; Part 4 with the German Period of Immigration; Part 5 with the Civil War and the Formative Period; Part 6, with the Russian Period of Immigration, and Part 7 with the Twentieth Century, Present Condition. The work is illustrated with twenty-five portraits of prominent men and women, and a frontispiece illustrating Ezekiel's Statue of Religious Liberty, dedicated to the People of the United States by the order of B'Nai B'Ritt., and erected in Fairmont Park, Philadelphia. The very reasonable price, \$1.50, as fixed by the publishers, insures for this work a very large sale.



DEATH OF WILLIAM H. DREW

William H. Drew, only son of Daniel Drew, famous as a New York financier in the 50's, and founder of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, died at the Bloomingdale Asylum, White Plains, New York, on December 8, 1912. The burial was in Drewcliffe cemetery in South East, Putman county, where his father's remains rest. His only sister was Catherine D. Clapp. She died many years ago.

With the death of William H. Drew, the name of Drew, by right of descent from the great financier, becomes extinct.

